

*Koch Bihár, Koch Hájo, and Ásám, in the 16th and 17th centuries, according to the Akbarnámah, the Pádisháhuámah, and the Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah.*—By H. BLOCHMANN, M. A., *Calcutta Madrasah.*

The beginning of Aurangzib's reign is marked by two expeditions which led to a temporary occupation of territories beyond the frontiers of Eastern Bengal. Not only had the gradual retreat of Prince Shujá' from Akbarnagar (Rájmahall) to Dháká and Chátgáuw (Chittagong) given rise to the maintenance of a large army, consisting chiefly of troops recruited by the officers themselves, which might conveniently be employed to settle several frontier disputes of long standing, to invade Rukhang (Aracan) and recover the children of the lost prince, but Aurangzib found it also absolutely necessary to give employment to generals on whose military experience, the result of the wars of succession, he looked with unconcealed distrust. Dáúd Khán's expedition to Palámau, of which the particulars were given in last year's Journal, occupied the Bihár corps; and Mír Jumlah Mu'azzam Khán, the '*Yár i wafádár*,' or faithful friend of the throne, received orders to use his army and extend the imperial dominions in the north along the Brahmáputra, and in the south along the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal. In the expedition to Ásám, which is related below, the furthest point to which the Mughuls advanced, is marked by the intersection of 95° Long., and 27° Lat., *i. e.*, the district north of Sibságar and Nazirah (the old Ghargáon) in Upper Ásám; and in the expedition to Aracan, which was undertaken after Mír Jumlah's death, the most southern point is Ránú, or Rambú, between 21° and 22° Lat., half way between Chátgáuw and Akyab. Beyond these two points the Muhammadans did not advance. We have no particulars of any expedition led by the old kings of Bengal against Aracan; Ásám was invaded about 1500 by Husain Sháh of Bengal, the scanty narrative of the expedition forming an interesting page in the description given by the Persian historian of Mír Jumlah's invasion.

The south-eastern frontier of Bengal up to the time of Aurangzib was the Phaní (Fenny) River, Bhaluah and Nawák'hálí being the most easterly '*thánahs*' of Sirkár Sunnargáon. The *Áin i Akbarí*, indeed, includes Sirkár Chátgáuw in Bengal; but there is no evidence that the Mughuls ever obtained a footing east of the Phaní River before the annexation of Chátgáuw under Aurangzib. The frontier then passed along the western portions of Tiparah as far as Silhat and Látú, went then westwards along the southern skirts of the Khasiah, Gáro, and the Karíbáí Hills, Hatsilah\* on the left

\* Rennel spells the name Hautchella, and places it opposite to Chilmáí on the right bank of the river. I cannot find the name on modern maps. Látú is spelt Ládú in the *Áin*.

bank of the Brahmáputra being looked upon as a frontier town, and then along the Brahmáputra as far as the Parganah Bhetarband, at the confluence of the Sankos and the Brahmáputra rivers. From Bhetarband the frontier passed westward to Pátgánw and the northern portions of Sirkár Púrniah. The Morang, Koch Bihár, and the districts at the angle of the Brahmáputra lay beyond the empire.

The countries bordering on the Mughul empire in the N. E. of Bengal were Koch Bihár and Koch Hájo. The latter is called by old English travellers 'the kingdom of Azo.' The position of Koch Bihár is sufficiently known; even in the reign of Jahángir it did not extend eastward as far as the Brahmáputra. Koch Hájo almost coincides with the modern district of Gwálpára, Lower Ásám, extending from above Ilátsilah in the Karibáří Hills and Parganah, on the left side of the Brahmáputra, along the bend of the river to Gwálpára. On the right side, it commenced north of the Parganah of Bhetarband and contained the districts along the angle of the river as far as Parganah K'honṭ'hag'hát inclusively, with the towns of Dhobrí and Rangimáti. On the east Koch Hájo bordered on Kámráp, or that part of Ásám which lies between Gwálpára, and Gauhatti to both sides of the Brahmáputra.

The comparatively recent time of the advance of the Muhammadans in these districts explains the paucity of Muhammadan names of towns in Koch Hájo. The maps give a Parganah 'Mukrumpore,' bordering on Bhetarband, which, no doubt, is a corruption of Mukarrampúr, so called after Mukarram Khán, the conqueror of Hájo in the reign of Jahángir. The parganah Golah 'Alamganj with Rangimáti as chief town, where the Imperial Faujdár had his head quarters, reminds us of 'Alamgir; and on the left side of the Brahmáputra, north of Karibáří, lies the Parganah Aurangábád, which also reminds us of Aurangzib. But these few Muhammadan names refer all to localities in the immediate vicinity of the old frontier of Bengal. From the absence of Muhammadan names we may conclude that the invasions of Koch Bihár and Ásám by several Bengal kings as Husain Sháh and Sulaimán i Kararání, in the beginning and the middle of the 16th century, led to no permanent results.

Kámráp also, for a short time under Sháhjahán, was included in the Dihli empire, and had imperial Faujdárs whose head quarters were Gauhatti. As in other parts of Bengal, the Muhammadans established settlements of Paiks, who are defined as a sort of militia, armed with spears and shields. But the Governors of Bengal soon found that they could not trust them as a border defence; for in the Hájo and Asamese wars they generally took the side of the Ásám Rájahs.

I now proceed to collect the notes given in the works of Muhammadan Historians on Koch Bihár, Koch Hájo, and Ásám. The notes are chiefly taken from the *Akbarnámah*, the *Tuzuk i Jahángirí*, the *Pádisháhnámah*,

the *'Alamgírnámah*, and the *Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah*. The first four works are sufficiently known; but the last mentioned work requires a few introductory remarks.

The *Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah* is also called *Tárikh Fath i Asám*, or History of the Conquest of Asám. It was written by Ibn Muhammad Walí, or Shihábuddín Talish, between the 4th Muharram and the 20th Shawwál, 1073, A. H., or between the 9th August, 1662, and 13th May, 1663, A. D. We know very little about the author. He was in the service of Mir Muhammad Sa'id of Ardistán, better known to European historians under the name of Mir Jumlah, Khán Khánán and Governor of Bengal in the beginning of Aurangzib's reign, and accompanied the general, apparently in the position of a clerk, on his expedition to Asám in 1662, and returned with him to Bengal. His brother Muhammad Sa'id, too, held an inferior office during the expedition. In the preface the author states that the reports which the imperial Wáqí'ahnawises used to send to Court, were often in the opinion of Mir Jumlah defective and incorrect; hence the object of the author is to give a detailed and faithful account of the whole expedition to Asám up to the death of Mir Jumlah, with which the book closes. The office of Wáqí'ahnawís, or writer of events, had been introduced by Akbar;\* his duty was to report to Court whatever happened in the district to which he was appointed. Before the time of the Mughuls also the office existed, though reports were not so systematically forwarded, as from the time of Akbar. In the *Tárikh i Fírúzsháhí*, for instance, we find the word *baríd*, an Arabic corruption of the Latin *veredus*, used instead of 'Wáqí'ahnawís.' Dr. Fryer, who was in India from 1672 to 1681, in his most interesting 'New Account of East India and Persia' (London, 1698), calls these officers 'Public Notaries,' or 'Public Intelligencers,' and has the following remark (*loc. cit.*, p. 140).—"This cheat [he means the practice of false musters] is practised all over the Realm, notwithstanding here are Publick Notaries placed immediately by the *Mogul*, to give Notice of all Transactions; which they are sure to represent in favour of the Governors where they reside, being Fee'd by them, as well as paid by the Emperor; so that if a Defeat happen, it is extenuated; if a Victory, it is magnified to the height: Those in this Office are called *Tocanovcees*."

On comparing the account of Shihábuddín with the shorter account of Mir Jumlah's expedition in the *'Alamgírnámah*, which contains a history of the first ten years of Aurangzib's reign and was issued with the Emperor's permission, we find a remarkable coincidence in language and phraseology. Whole sentences, in fact occur word for word in both books; and we are led to conclude that the author of the *'Alamgírnámah* either used Shihábuddín's account, or both had access to the official reports which were sent to the Emperor. I shall notice this circumstance below.

\* *Vide* Kín translation, p. 258.

In point of style, Shihábuddín's work is elegant and simple. The Persian is flowing and pure, and the total absence of Indian *isti'mál*, or Indo-Persian constructions, shews that the author was a native of Persia.

The book\* consists of a short preface, an introduction (*muqaddimah*) and two parts (*maqálah*). The introduction treats of the causes which led to the invasion of Koch Bihár and Ásám. The first part relates the conquest of Koch Bihár and the general condition of the country. The second part narrates the invasion of Ásám by Mír Jumlah; the occupation of the country, which lasted for fourteen months, from the 23rd Jumáda I, 1072 to the 26th Rajab, 1073; the peace which was concluded; and the return of the general to Khizrpúr near Dháká, where he died shortly after, on the 2nd Ramazán, 1073. The second part is divided into 17 chapters, of which the sixth is particularly interesting as containing a description of Ásám and the Asamese in 1662 and occasional notices of the Aboriginal tribes in Eastern and Southern Ásám.

#### Koch Biha'r and Koch Ha'jo (Lower A'sa'm).

The following extracts are taken from the *Akbarnámah* (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 207). "To the events of this time [beginning of the 23rd years, of Akbar's reign, A. H. 986, or A. D., 1578] belongs the arrival of the *peshkash* from Bengal and Koch Bihár. Rájah Bálgosáin, who is the Zamíndár of Koch, submitted again, and sent valuable presents from Bengal with fifty-four elephants."

This was after the total defeat of Dáúd, king of Bengal, by Khán Jahán. Áin translation, p. 330.

The following passage from the same work (III, 762) refers to the end of the 41st year of Akbar's reign, or the middle of 1005 A. H. [A. D. 1596, end].

"About this time Lachmí Naráin submitted. He is the ruler of Koch, and has 4000 horse, and 200,000 foot, 700 elephants, and 1000 ships. His country is 200 *kos* long, and from 100 to 40 *kos* broad, extending in the east to the Brahmáputra, in the north to Tibbat, in the south to G'horá-g'hát, and in the west to Tirhut.

"About five hundred† years ago, a woman prayed in a Mahádeo temple for a son. Her prayer was granted, and she called the son Bísá. He became the ruler of Koch Bihár. One of his descendants, or grandsons

\* The Asiatic Society of Bengal has a MS. of the work, No. 425 of the Persian Catalogue. It was also printed at Calcutta, in the old Madrasah, Baiṭhak-khánah, 1st Rajab, 1265, by Masíhuddín Khán, a Munshí of the Foreign Department. The book is out of print.

† The Lucknow Edition has *fifteen*. Although I quote the Lucknow Edition of the *Akbarnámah*, I translate from MSS., for the text of the Lucknow Edition is worse than the worst possible MS. For *Bísá* the MSS. have *Bíbá*, *Biyá*, or *Bísbá*.



(*nabírah*), was Bál Gosáin, a wise ruler. He wrote a letter in praise of the Emperor and sent it with presents to Court. As he lived the life of an ascetic, he did not marry, and when he was fifty years old, he appointed Pát Kunwar, his brother's son, successor. But the Rájah's eldest brother, Shukl Gosáin desired a marriage, and in order not to offend him, Bál Gosáin assented, and had a son Lachmí Naráin. When he died and Lachmí Naráin became Rájah, Pát Kunwar rebelled. Being hard pressed by the opponent, Lachmí made his submission to the Emperor, and requested Mán Singh, the Governor of Bengal, to introduce him at Court. A meeting was arranged; Mán Singh set out from Salímnagar\* and the Rájah travelled forty *kos* to meet him at Anandapúr. The meeting took place on 13th Dai. After many festivities, the Rájah wished to take Mán Singh to his capital; but Mán Singh was for some reason unwilling and politely took leave of the Rájah. The latter soon after gave him his daughter in marriage.

"As the Koch Bihár Rájahs had not personally paid their respects at the Court of the kings of Bengal, Sulaimán i Kararání had invaded Koch Bihár, but without result."

From the *Tuzuk i Jahángírí* (p. 147) we see that, in the end of 1024, ninety elephants were paraded before Jahángír, which Qásim Khán, the Governor of Bengal, had taken from Orísá, the Mugs, and Koch Bihár.

"In the beginning of 1027, or A. D. 1618, Lachmí Naráin paid his respects personally at Court in Gujráat, and presented a nazar of 500 muhurs" (*loc. cit.*, p. 220).

The following more detailed account is taken from the *Pádisháhnámah* (II, pp. 64 ff.).

Bengal in the north is bounded by two kingdoms, one of which is called Koch Hajo and the other Koch Bihár. Koch Bihár lies far away from the Brahmáputra; Koch Hajo lies on the banks of that river.

In the beginning of Jahángír's reign, Koch Hajo was ruled over by Paríchhat, and Koch Bihár by Lachmí Naráin, who was the brother of Paríchhat's grandfather. Now in the 8th year of the reign of that Emperor, when Shaikh 'Aláuddín Fathpúri Islám Khán had been made governor of Bengal, Paríchhat was complained against by Rag'húnát'h, zamindár of the Parganah Sosang,† whose family Paríchhat had imprisoned. Rag'húnát'h's complaints were found to be correct; and as Paríchhat had not behaved so submissively as Lachmí Naráin of Koch Bihár, Shaikh 'Aláuddín determined to annex Koch Hajo, and ordered Mukarram Khán‡ quickly to invade Hajo with 6000 horse, 10,000 to 12,000 foot, and 500 ships\$. The

\* Salímnagar is the name of the fort of Sherpúr Murchah (Mymensingh).

† Sosang lies east of the Brahmáputra, between the Karibáí and the Gáro Hills.

‡ Aín translation, p. 493.

§ سہاری پیکاری.

vanguard was commanded by Kamāl Khān who quickly yet cautiously marched to Hātsilah, which belongs to the Parganah Karibārī and is the beginning of Koch Hājo, fortifying at every stage his encampment with bamboo palisades according to the system of warfare followed in these parts of the country. He then advanced on Fort Dhubrī, which lies on the [right] bank of the Brahmáputra and was garrisoned with 500 horse and 10000 foot of Parichhat's troops, and besieged it. After a bombardment of one month, he took the fort, killing a large number of the enemies. Parichhat now sent a wakil from Khelah, where his residence was, to the commander, sued for peace, and offered 100 elephants, 100 Tānglans (ponies), and 20 *mans* of lignum aloes. He also promised to release Rag'húnát'h's family. Mukarram Khān and Kamāl informed the Governor of Bengal of the proposals, and before the answer came back, Parichhat had carried out the terms and sent the animals, &c. But the governor demanded the surrender both of the country and of Parichhat's person. Hostilities were therefore resumed; but the army stayed in Fort Dhubrī till the end of the rains. A sudden attack which Parichhat made on Dhubrī with 20 elephants, 400 horse, and 10000 foot, was with some difficulty repulsed, and the enemy withdrew in disorder towards Khelah. The imperialists now left Dhubrī and encountered Parichhat's fleet in the Gujāddar river. In the engagement which ensued, the hostile ships were driven back, and Parichhat was forced to retreat to Khelah. But even there he did not stay long, as he had heard that Lachmī Narāin had joined the imperialists and was about to attack him from the flank. He therefore left for Budhnagar, which lies on the Banās river,\* followed by the imperialists who had passed over Khelah and reached the Banās. Unable to hold himself any longer, he now surrendered himself to the mercy of the Mughuls, and was taken, together with his elephants and riches, to Mukarram Khān. Baldeo, however, Parichhat's brother, fled to the Sargdeo of Āsām, whose friend he was.

In this way Koch Hājo was annexed to the empire. Mukarram Khān, with the sanction of 'Alāuddīn Islām Khān, appointed his brother 'Abdus-salām Fathpūrī to command the garrison which was to be left at Khelah, and returned with Parichhat as prisoner towards Dhākā. Immediately before his arrival, 'Alāuddīn had died, and as no successor had yet been appointed, Hoshang, 'Alāuddīn's son, and Mukarram sent a report to court. Jahāngīr ordered Parichhat to be sent to him. Soon after, Shaikh Qāsim, 'Alāuddīn's brother, who had been in charge of district Munger, was appointed governor of Bengal with the title of Muhtashim Khān. Upon entering on his office, he appointed Mukarram Khān governor of Hājo. Mukarram obeyed and remained in Hājo for a year, when, vexed at the

\* The Banās flows into the Brahmáputra, right bank, opposite to Gwáhpárá. The Pádisháhnámah spells wrongly *دهویدری* and *پناس*.

annoyances he had to suffer at the hands of Qásim, who certainly possessed little tact, if any, he left his post and proceeded over G'horág'hát to Court. Qásim therefore sent Sayyid Hákim, an imperial officer, and Sayyid Abá Bakr with 10 to 12000 horse and foot and 400 large ships to Hájo, and ordered them to invade Ásám. They waited in Hájo for the end of the rains, marched three or four stages into Ásám, when they were totally destroyed by the Asamese in a night attack. As this disaster was caused by the shortsightedness of Qásim Khán, he was deposed from his office as governor of Bengal.

(Page 68.) Ásám borders on Hájo. As the Asamese exclude foreigners, the only information regarding the country that we possess, is derived from prisoners or some of those doggish Asamese who come to Hájo as traders. It is a large country, producing elephants and lignum aloes, which is called *agar* in Hindústán, and also gold of inferior purity, which sells at half price. It borders on Khatá (Chinese Tartary). The present king [A. H. 1047, or 1637, A. D.] is called Sarg Deo, and is an infidel who keeps one thousand elephants and one hundred thousand foot. The inhabitants shave the head, and clip off beard and whiskers. They eat every land and water animal. In looks they resemble the Qaráqylpáq (?) tribe. They are very black and loathsome to far and near. The chiefs travel on elephants or country ponies; but the army consists only of foot soldiers. The fleet is large and well fitted out. The soldiers use bows and arrows and matchlocks, but do not come up in courage to our soldiers, though they are very brave in naval engagements. On the march they quickly and dexterously fortify their encampments with mud walls and bamboo palisades, and surround the whole with a ditch.

It was mentioned above that Baldeo had fled to the king of Ásám, whom he now persuaded to invade Hájo, offering his assistance under the condition that he was to be appointed governor of the province. The Ásám Rájah agreed and sent Baldeo with an army towards Hájo. Profiting by the unsettledness arising from the removal of one governor and the arrival of another, Baldeo took Durang, which was owned by several zamindárs of that district and lies about 10 *kos* from Hájo, on the south of the Brahmáputra, and continued his aggressions by force and persuasion, so that he soon saw himself at the head of 10 to 12000 men, both Asamese and Bangális. The frontier thánah of the Asamese, therefore, which under the rule of Pariehat had been far off, was now much pushed forward.

At the time of Khán Zamán, who acted as Governor of Bengal for his father Mahábat Khán, Baldeo continued his raids unopposed, and took away Parganahs Lúki\* and Bháomantí, causing not only much distress in those districts themselves, but inflicting also severe losses on the empire,

\* Duár Lúki is separated from Gwálpára by Parganah Habrág'hát, and lies E. E.S. of Gwálpára.

because he afforded protection to the people when the tax-gatherers came amongst them, and indirectly influenced the zamíndárs of other imperial districts to delay the customary payments.

During the governorship of Qásim Khán several chiefs had been sent to these districts with 10 to 12000 soldiers armed with shields and swords. Such soldiers are called *paiks*, and had before been in Hájo, and lived on the lands which the Bengal governors had given them as *jágírs*, being engaged either in cultivation or keeping up *k'hedahs* (enclosures for catching wild elephants). But as these men had been remiss in forwarding elephants, Qásim Khán called the chiefs to Dháká and imprisoned them for some time, after which he let them off on payment of a fine of 30,000 Rupees. The result was that Santosh Lashkar and Jairám Lashkár, who were the chiefs of the Paiks, fled to the Sargdeo Rájah of Ásám, who provided for them, and thus attached them to his party. Again, when Islám Khán was appointed to Bengal, Satrjit, the wicked Thánahdár of Pándú, made common cause with Baldeo, and instigated him to profit by the change of governors and push forward. Baldeo thereupon collected an army of Asamese and Kochis, left Durang, and attacked 'Abdussalám, who was in charge of Koch Hájo and had been ordered to look after the k'hedahs. 'Abdussalám reported matters to Islám Khán and asked for reinforcements.

Islám Khán, therefore, in the 9th year of Sháhjahán's reign (1st Jumáda II., 1045 to 1st Jumáda II., 1046, or A. D. 1636), sent 'Abdussalám's brother, Shaikh Muhiuddin, together with Muhammad Qálih Kambú, Mirzá Muhammad Bukhári and other imperial Mançabdárs, as also Sayyid Zainul'abidin, one of his own soldiers of merit, with 1000 horse, 1000 matchlockmen, partly imperial and partly belonging to his own contingent, and 10 *ghrábs* and nearly 200 *kosahs* and *jalbúhs*,\* all well provided and fitted out, to 'Abdussalám's assistance. An officer was at the same time ordered to hasten to G'horág'hát, and there collect boats, to convey the army and the baggage. The rainy season delayed matters, and when the forces reached G'horág'hát, the horses and the heavy baggage were left behind till the end of the rains, whilst the men proceeded in small boats upwards. Muhammad Qálih, whose *kosahs* were swift going, had a start of two days and arrived first in Hájo. At this time Satrjit, the traitor, sent a message to 'Abdussalám, stating that he had heard from spies that the Asamese intended to make a night attack on his thánah. 'Abdussalám, therefore, ordered Muhammad Qálih to accompany Satrjit and protect his thánah. After a short march, night overtook them, and Satrjit asked Muhammad Qálih to remain where they were, whilst he would go and get information about the thánah. But as next morning Satrjit had not returned, Qálih broke up, and met Satrjit half-way with his ships, who gave out that the Asamese had attacked and taken his thánah with superior forces, and he had fled to save at least the ships.

\* Kinds of ships; *vide* below.



They remained for one day and one night at the place of meeting, and hearing of Zainul'ábidín's arrival, returned to Hájo. It was now resolved that 'Abdussalám should not leave Hájo; his brother Muhiuddín and Fazil Beg, an officer of Islám Khán, who commanded 300 horse and the same number of matchlockmen of the Khán's contingent, were to garrison the thánahs in the neighbourhood of Hájo, whilst Zain ul'ábidín should push the ships as far as Srig'hát, where Ásám begins, and try to keep the enemy at bay. Zain ul'ábidín, therefore, and Muhammad Çalih, with imperial troops and soldiers belonging to Islám Khán's contingent, and many Zamíndárs and ships, marched forward, and met the enemy, who had advanced two *kos* beyond Pándú. The Asanese at once left the two fortified camps which they had erected, and attacked the Imperialists. After a severe fight, they were dislodged and lost five guns. Zain ul'ábidín destroyed their camps, and then marched quickly on to Srig'hát, where the Asamese had assembled in force. Fighting was at once renewed, and in one of the engagements a *Phúkan*, *i. e.*, an Asamese chief and commander of ten or twelve thousand men, was killed. Five large ships, which they call *bachhárís*, and several *kosahs*, *i. e.*, ships that have one mast,\* were taken. On the following day also, the Asamese lost in an engagement 300 men, 12 *bachhárís*, and 40 *kosahs*.

Islám Khán had in the meantime collected further reinforcements, and intended to take personally the command of the expedition. But on account of the great distance of Hájo from Jahángirnagar, where his presence was required, he had to give up his plan, and therefore sent his own brother Mír Zain uddín, Allah Yár Khán, Muhammad Beg Abákash, 'Abdul Wakháb, Mír Qásim Samnáni, Amírah Sásán, Sayyid Muhammad Bukhári and others, with 1500 horse, 4000 matchlockmen and bowmen of his own contingent to Hájo. Muhammad Zamán of Tahrán, who was Faujdár and Tuyúldár of Silhat, was also ordered to join the detachment. As the Páiks had, in the meantime, joined the Asamese, which deprived the Hájo and Srig'hát corps of regular supplies, Islám Khán shipped large stores of grain and had them conveyed by twenty-five war-*kosahs* belonging to Ma'qúm Zamíndár,† who also took with him ammunition, weapons, and money. Khlwájah Sher, Faujdár of G'horág'hát and lately appointed to the Faujdári of Khelah, was ordered to join with his detachment Mír Husainí, a servant of the governor, who with 200 horse and 300 foot had gone to Koch Bihár to collect the *peshkash*, and then to move to Dhubri. There they were to be joined by

\* *Yakhobah*, *pr.* having one pole or beam, one-masted (?). On page 37, the term *kosah* was applied to such ships as are used to row war-ships.

The term *ghráb* (غراب) is looked upon by the author of the *Pádisháhnámah* (I, p. 431) as a Bangálí term.

† Ma'qúm Zamíndár had also served in command of ships at the conquest of Húglí, in the beginning of 1042, A. H.

Basbati (باسبتي), zamindár of Pátka and other districts (a relation of Parichhat, who exerted himself in behalf of the Imperialists), after which they should operate together with the Hájo army.

Before the provisions came up, 'Abdussalám had hastened to Sríg'hát, in order to induce Sayyid Zain ul'ábidín who was stationed there, to come with him to Hájo; for the river had receded for two or three *kos* from Fort Hájo, and mutual succour was rendered impossible. The Sayyid at first refused to come; but at the urgent request of 'Abdussalám he at last agreed, put the ships in charge of Muhammad Çalîh Kanbú, Satrjít, and Majlis Báyzid, ruler of Sirkár Fathábád near Dháká, and left several behind. No sooner had he left than the enemy with nearly 500 ships attacked at night the imperial fleet. The scoundrel Satrjít, who had been the cause of the attack, took the first opportunity to retire with his ships, and several others followed him from fear; nor would he return, when Çalîh sent his sons to him to induce him to do his duty. The imperialists were defeated: Çalîh was killed, Báyzid was made prisoner, and the fleet fell into the hands of the enemies. Satrjít, moreover, on his flight, fell in with a number of ships which brought provisions to the army, and persuaded them to return.

Baldeo, thereupon, with his Asamese and Kochí troops, left Sríg'hát and Pándú, and marched towards Hájo, which he besieged, successfully cutting off all supplies. 'Abdussalám, Shaikh Muhiuddin, and Sayyid Zain ul'ábidín were thus forced to have recourse to sallies, during which they destroyed some of his stockades. From want of provisions, the delay of reinforcements, and the superior number of the enemies, 'Abdussalám accepted an offer of peace, and went with his brother to the hostile camp. He was, however, immediately imprisoned and sent to Ásám. Sayyid Zain ul'ábidín with the rest of the men tried bravely to force his way through the enemies; but they were all cut up.

The corps commanded by Mir Zain uddín 'Alí, Allah Yár, and Muhammad Zamán Tahrání had, in the mean time, left the banks of the Brahmáputra, and attacked Chandr Naráin, son of Parichhat. Chandr Naráin had at first lived in Parganah Solmári, which belongs to the Dak'hinkol, the district south of the Brahmáputra, on the right\* banks of the river. But as most parts of the Dak'hinkol had been given to Satrjít as *tuyúl*, the latter had sent Gopínát'h, his brother's son, as thánahdár and collector to Parganah Karibári. The inhabitants of the Parganah, in consequence of Gopínát'h's oppressions, had called Chandr Naráin; and Gopínát'h, unable to resist him, had withdrawn. Chandr Naráin had in a short time collected an army of 6 or 7000 Asamese

\* We would say the *left* bank. The Persians do not look as we do to the mouth of a river in speaking of the right and left banks, but they look to the source, or *báldáryah* (بالدریاء), i. e., against the current.

and Kochis, and established himself at Mauza' Matlah,\* which belongs to Karibāri, where he erected a fortified camp near the Brahmáputra, at a place full of jungle. The imperialists, on the 10th Sha'bān of the 10th year [1046, A. H.], came from the Uttarkol, the left [right] bank of the Brahmáputra, and arrived in rapid marches opposite to Karibāri. They crossed the river, and resolved next day to attack Chandr Naráin. But the latter used the respite thus afforded him, fled from Karibāri, and retreated to Parganah Solmāri, where he had stayed before. The imperialists, next day, received the submission of the chiefs of Karibāri, both of páiks and ryots, levelled the fortifications erected by Chandr Naráin, and cut down the jungle round about the stockades. Jalāl, a relation of the zamindār Ma'ǧúm, was left here with 400 matchlockmen and páiks as garrison.

The imperialists now returned across the Brahmáputra, and entered Parganah Mardangí, which belongs to the Dak'hinkol. The chief of the district had also the name of Parichhat, and was father-in-law to Chandr Naráin. By promises and threats they succeeded in getting him to come to the camp. About the same time the zamindār of Solmāri also, who from fear of Chaudr Naráin had fled to K'honṭ'hag'haṭ, joined the imperialists. They then marched to Dhobri, where they fell in with the traitor Satrjít and the convoy ships which he had managed to detain. As they had heard of Satrjít's treachery, and orders had in the meantime arrived from Islám Khān to seize him, they secured him and sent him on the Dháká.

This Satrjít was the son of Mukindra, zamindār of Bosnah, which lies three stages from Dháká 'on this side.' Shaikh 'Aláuddín, when Governor [under Jahāngir] of Bengal, had sent him along with the army which then invaded Ilájo; and as he distinguished himself in the war, he had, after the conquest of the country and the return of the army, been appointed Thánah-dār of Pándú and Gauhaṭṭi, where, chiefly through his numerous dependants, he had obtained the friendship of the Asamese, and had also, by his influence as zamindār of Bosnah, become quite intimate with the chiefs of Koch. The governors of Bengal who succeeded Shaikh 'Aláuddín, had often called him; but he made for ever excuses and neither paid his respects, nor did he send the customary *peshkash*. When, however, Islám Khān was made governor, he found that subtrefuges availed nothing, and calling his son, who was in Jahāngirnagar, to take his place, he paid his respects to the governor, and was ordered to join the corps under Shaikh Muhiuddín. But he was a traitor, and kept on friendly terms with the Āsām Rājah and Baldeo, Parichhat's brother, and not only furnished them with information, but induced many zamindārs to rebel. He now met with his deserts, and was imprisoned in Jahāngirnagar and executed.

\* مٲله, if this be no mistake for هٲسله, Hātsilah. The initial *hē* in MSS. is written like a *mīm*, and the *sīn* is a mere horizontal stroke.

The unhappy fate of 'Abdussalám emboldened the Asamese and Kochís to advance with 12000 foot, 50 war-sloops, and many *kosahs* to Jogig'hopah, which is a long hill situated opposite to the confluence of the Banás and Brahmáputra [near Gwálpára], where, protected by dense jungle, they hoped to check the imperialists. They had erected a strong fort, and had made another opposite to it at a place called Hírahpúr, on the other side of the Brahmáputra. Jogig'hopah was garrisoned with 3000 foot; the other portion of the army was located at Hírahpúr, whilst the fleet anchored between the two forts. The imperialists now left Dhobrí, and came to the Khánpúr River, which flows from K'hont'hag'hát into the Brahmáputra, and crossed it. Basbatí, who with the zamindárs and the footmen was employed to cut down the jungle and prepare a road for the army, here reported that the enemies were in sight, and Zain uddin 'Alí and Allah Yár gave him 3000 matchlockmen, and told him to drive away the enemy. At the first attack, the Asamese ran away and were pursued for six *kos*. Next day, the imperialists came to Jogig'hopah. After several fights, the enemies again withdrew, and the imperialists crossed the Banás. It was at this time that Chandr Naráin perished, and received the reward for his disloyalty. As he had been the cause of the defection of the Dak'hinkol, Muhammad Zamán was immediately sent there with 1000 horse and 4000 foot, to clear the country: if the zamindárs submitted, they were to be sent to the army to serve; if not, they were to be killed. This Muhammad Zamán did in a short time, and the Dak'hinkol being clear of the enemy, he returned with his corps to head quarters. The whole army then marched to Chandaukoṭ. On their way, they received a letter from U'tam Naráin, son of Sardábar, zamindár of Budhnagar, in which it was said that Baldeo had arrived with 3000 Kochís and Asamese in Budhnagar, and that the zamindár, unable to oppose him, had crossed the Banás and gone to K'hont'hag'hát, from where he wished to join the imperial camp. Muhammad Zamán with a strong detachment was ordered to march against Baldeo, accompanied by U'tam Naráin, who had just come and was thoroughly acquainted with the country. The principal part of the army remained at Chandaukoṭ. Muhammad Zamán now crossed the Pomári River, took a stockade which the enemy had erected on its banks, and marched upon Budhnagar. Baldeo, in the meantime, had deserted the strong encampment he had thrown up at Budhnagar, and had withdrawn to Chot'hí, a zamindári which also belongs to Sardábar, where he erected several forts in the jungle at the foot of the hills. The imperialists, therefore, turned towards the jungles, and halted at Bishnpúr, an elevated spot near to Baldeo's encampment, in order to wait for the end of the rains and to get their war-material into order. Baldeo boldly advanced from Chot'hí, having received from Srig'hát and Pándú reinforcements which increased his army to 40,000 men, and threw up fortifications at the Kalápáni River, which is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *kos* dis-



tant from Bishnpūr, whilst he himself with the greater part of his army remained encamped at the distance of about a *kos*, protected by rising ground, a river difficult to cross, and dense jungle. He made several night attacks, and by throwing up palisades in front of the imperialists succeeded in reducing them to great straits. After some time, the Sarg Deo, who was at Pándú, in consequence of a letter received from Baldeo, sent his son-in-law to him with nearly 20,000 Asamese, who were ordered to march on Chandankot.

As the rains had in the meantime decreased, the army of Islām left its encampment at Chandankot, and marched on to Bishnpūr. Baldeo determined to do something before both hostile corps should effect a junction; and on the night between Friday and Saturday, 20th Jumāda II., of the 11th year of the present reign [*i. e.* 20th Jumāda II., 1047, or 31st October, 1637], he ordered some of his men on this side of the Kālīpānī to attack the imperialists at night. The result was that they carried two stockades which had not been quite finished. Next morning, Muhammad Zamān took at once the offensive, and leaving a party behind to protect his stockades, he attacked the works of the enemies. The first were immediately taken by storm, and the imperialists in pursuing the Asamese entered with them into the second line of their defences, and killed a good number. Even here the enemies gave way, and the victors had arrived at their third line of fortifications. Before noon, 15 stockades were taken, and more than 4000 Asamese killed. Several chiefs also, who held commands of about 5 to 6000 were killed, and three of them were brought in prisoners. Many guns, matchlocks, and other weapons fell into the hands of the victors. All stockades on this side of the river were burnt down. The defeated enemies fell back on Baldeo, and the imperialists thought it best to march as soon as possible on Bishnpūr.

On the 12th Rajab [21st November, 1637], the whole army was divided into three corps, and marched against Baldeo, whose position they attacked from three points. The enemies soon fled on all sides. A very large number was killed. The son-in-law of the Aśm Rājāh was taken captive, and was afterwards, together with all other captives, executed. Up to the end of the day, every Asamese found in the jungles was killed. The shattered remnants of the enemies withdrew to Srighāt and Pándú, where the Rājāh was with the heavy baggage and the fleet. Baldeo escaped to Durang.

After this victory, the imperial forces marched against Pándú and Srighāt, and arrived on the 24th Rajab [3rd December, 1637] near Akyah Pahāri (آکيه پھاري). The commander next morning sent three detachments up the hill to take the outworks (*sarkob*); Muhammad Beg Abākash, Mīr Muhammad Qāsim Samnānī, Sayyid Muhammad Bukhārī, and other imperial commanders, attacked the works at the foot of the hill, whilst the commander himself with Allah Yār and Muhammad Zamān followed in the rear.

The enemies commenced immediately a cannonade, which did, however, no damage whatever. The outworks on the top of the hill were taken. The imperial fleet at the same time engaged the hostile ships, and scattered them. Many Asamese were killed. Sríghaṭ was now attacked. Allah Yár and Muhammad Zamán came up, surrounded the forts, and drove away the enemies. The sailors, in the meantime, directed all *ghrábs* and *kosaks* towards Pándú, and engaged the enemies who guarded Pándú on the other side of the river. Here also the flight soon became general, and Ma'gún zamíndár did much damage with his ships among the enemies, many of whom threw themselves from their ships and met with their death in the waves. Nearly 500 war-sloops and 300 guns fell into the hands of the victors, and in a short time no enemy was to be seen.

The whole of Koch Hájo was thus cleared of the Asamese, and was again, as before, annexed to the empire.

The conquest was completed by the taking of Fort Kajlí, which lies on the Brahmáputra. The fort is surrounded on three sides by hills, through which a large river [the Kulang River] breaks that flows into the Brahmáputra. As it is the place where Asám proper commences, it was held by several Asamese chiefs. A detachment was sent to Durang to hunt down Baldeo, and the fleet was ordered to sail to Kajlí. The hostile garrison fled also here; the imperialists crossed the river, and took possession of the fort. A garrison of 1000 horse, 3000 matchlockmen, 2000 páiks, and several zamíndárs, were ordered to guard the place.

Baldeo, in course of time, was reduced to great straits. He fled to Singrí, an Asamese town between the hills and the Brahmáputra, and soon after perished miserably with his two sons.

During the next three months the whole district was pacified; the zamíndárs made their submission, and the country received a financial settlement. Gawáhattí, which had formerly been an important town, became head quarters, and the commanders remained here during the rainy season.

His Majesty [Sháhjahán], in recognition of the services of the army promoted Islám Khán, who had been a commander of 5000, 5000 horse, 3000 *duaspah sihaspah* troopers, to a command of 5000, 5000 horse, 4000 *duaspah sihaspahs*; Allah Yár Khán received an increase of 500, 200 horse, and was now a commander of 3000, 2000 horse; Muhammad Zamán was made a commander of 2000, 1800 horse; and Mír Zainuddin 'Alí, a commander of 1000, 200 horse, with the title of *Sayádat Khán*. Rahmán Yár and 'Abdul Wahháb also were promoted.

Mír Núrullah of Harát was appointed Thánahdár of Koch Hájo, with a command of 3000, 2500 horse. (*Pádisháhnámah*, II., 94).

Having completed the extracts from the *Pādishāhnāmah*, I now proceed to the *Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah*. I do not intend to give a translation of the whole book, but shall in general content myself with a detailed analysis, and a comparison with the '*Ālamgīrnāmah*. Of the more interesting chapters and passages, however, the analysis will be found to approach a translation.

The subjugation of Koch Hājo and Kāmṛup by the imperialists in 1637 appears to have been thorough. At least we have no information of new troubles having broken out till A. H. 1068, or A. D. 1658, when Shāhjahān fell sick, and the wars of succession followed. In that year, the Faujdār of Kāmṛup and Hājo was Mīr Luṭfullah of Shīrāz. The government of Bengal had for several years been in the hands of Prince Shujā', who had now collected the whole Bengal corps to oppose his brothers. From the frontier-districts, especially, the imperial detachments appear to have been entirely withdrawn; for no sooner had the emperor's sickness become known than Bhīm Narāin, Rājah of Koch Bihār, made raids into G'horāg'hāt, carrying off a great number of imperial subjects, men and women. He also sent his vazīr Bhawānāth\* with an army into Kāmṛup. Jaidhaj Singh also, Rājah of Āsām, thought circumstances favorable, and unwilling to allow the Kochis to recover territories which they formerly had held, he marched with a large army, accompanied by a numerous fleet, into Kāmṛup. Mīr Luṭfullah, seeing himself thus attacked from two sides, and having no troops to check the invaders, took his ships, and withdrew to Dhākā. The Kochis again, unable to oppose the Asamese, retreated, and the whole province was at the mercy of the Āsām Rājah, who even annexed part of the Parganah Karibāri, Hatsilah being as formerly their most advanced thānah.

For three years nearly did the Asamese remain in undisturbed possession of the newly annexed territory, when after the flight of Prince Shujā' to Arakan, in Ramazān of Aurangzib's third year, [*i. e.* Ramazān, 1070, or June, 1659], KhānKhānān Mīr Jumlah, governor of Bengal, occupied Jahāngīrnagar. It was immediately after this event, says the author of the '*Ālamgīrnāmah*, (p. 680) that Jaidhaj Singh sent a vakīl to Mīr Jumlah, stating that he had taken possession of the imperial lands for no other reasons but to keep out the Kochis; he was now prepared to hand them again over to any officer whom the governor might send to him. The statement found favor; Mīr Jumlah rewarded the vakīl with a *khaṭat*, and Rashid Khān, Sayyid Naṣīruddīn Khān, Sayyid Sālār Khān, Aghar Khān, and others, were ordered to receive back the imperial lands. Bhīm Narāin also sent at this time a vakīl, in order to ask the governor's pardon for his want of loyalty and open rebellion; but Mīr Jumlah would listen to no excuse, imprisoned

\* See the *Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah*. The '*Ālamgīrnāmah* has, perhaps correctly, Bho-lānāt'h. For Bhīm Narāin, MSS. have also Pem Narāin.

the vakil, and ordered Rájah Subhán Singh Bundelah\* with an imperial corps and Mirzá Beg, one of his own officers, with 1000 horse, to occupy Koeh Bihár.

As soon as the Asamese heard of the approach of Rashíd Khán, they withdrew from Karibárf and the neighbouring places, and returned at last beyond the Banás river [opposite Gwálpára]. Rashíd Khán thought their sudden retreat to be a snare, and refused to advance beyond four stages from Jahángirnagar; but on receiving further supplies under Sayyid Yúsuf, who during Shujá's government had been Faujdár of Karibárf, he occupied that Parganah, and soon after took possession of Rangámáfi. Here he remained, and reported to the governor that the Asamese were making extensive preparations to recover the lost territory.

Subhán Singh in the meantime advanced to Yak Duár; but seeing that Rashíd Khán did not press forward, he, too, remained where he was, especially as the rains had set in, and sent discouraging reports to the governor. By 'Duár' a fortified gateway is meant, built of mortar and bricks, which stands upon a broad *ál*, or raised road,† mostly overgrown with trees, and surrounded by deep and broad ditches and jungle, where the treacherous inhabitants of these districts use to hide.

The governor saw that matters could no longer be left in the hands of his officers, and on obtaining the necessary orders from court, he prepared himself to invade Koch Bihár and Ásám.

### *The Conquest of Koch Bihár in 1661.*

On the 18th Rabi' I., 1072 [1st November, 1661, A. D.], the fourth year of Aurangzib's reign, the Nawáb [Mir Jumla] started from Jahángirnagar, leaving Ihtishám Khán in Khizrpúr to protect the capital. Mukhlis Khán garrisoned Akbarnagar (Rájnahall), and all financial matters were left to Bha-

\* The Bibl. Indica Edition of the 'Alamgírnamah must be used with care, as the proper names are mostly all wrong. Thus on p. 679, مست سله should be هتسله; p. 680, كجل should be كجلي; p. 681 and in the whole narrative, سچانسنگ should be سبجان سنگ; آغر خان Aghar Khán is also doubtful, the correct spelling being perhaps إغر (ایغر), Ighyr Khán. On p. 690, for پھوت and پھوتنت read the same forms with b; p. 692, road میچ for مسح; p. 693, کوچ بهادر for کوچ بهار; p. 694, کہوتنگھات for کوہنگھات; p. 696, ناگرگانو for ناگرگانو; Do., پھانچہ for پھانچی; p. 700, پاندو for پاندو; p. 703, مکروینچ for مکروہج; Do., چمدھرہ for چمدھرہ; p. 713, سید نثار for سید نثار; pp. 720, 721, منصور خان for منور خان, سید تانار for دولہ; p. 727, کلٹانی for کلٹانی. These are only mistakes in proper nouns.

† Abulfazl thinks that the raised roads, or *áls*, in Bengal, have given rise to the name of the country, *Banga-ál*.



goti Dás, the Diwán, and to Khwájah Bhagwant Dás; Mir Ghází was appointed Bakhshí and Wáq'ahnawís, and Muhammad Muqim commanded the fleet. The Nawáb first marched to Barítalah (برئي نله),\* the harem and the heavy baggage having been sent *viâ* G'horág'hát. Now three roads lead to Koch Bihár, two from his Majesty's empire, and a third *viâ* Morang (مورنگ). Of the former two, the first is known as the Yak Duár; and if the Duár be forced, there would be no further obstacles, and the army might proceed to the town of Koch Bihár. The second is known as the K'honṭ'hag'hát road†. It passes near Rangámáti, and is a narrow road intersected by many nálahs. To both sides of the *ál*, or embankment, there is dense jungle up to the town of Koch Bihár. But there was still another road, along an *ál* much lower than the others, and surrounded by dense bamboo shrubs; and as the Rájah thought the road impracticable for an army, he had not guarded it. For this reason the Nawáb determined to go by this road, and ordered the fleet to anchor in the nálah which flows from Sirkár G'horág'hát into the Brahmáputra.

On the last day of Rabí II. [12th December, 1661], Rájah Subhán Singh joined the Nawáb.

On the 1st Jumáda I. [13th December, 1661], the Nawáb arrived at the foot of the *ál*. A few enemies were there, but they dispersed on his approach. On the next day, the army went along the *ál*, the Nawáb himself being continually on horseback. The march was difficult, and the elephants and the footmen had continually to cut a road through the jungle. At a place three stages from Koch Bihár it was reported that the Rájah had fled to Bhútant (Bhootan). The army also crossed here a river, which was said to be bottomless.

On the 6th Jumáda I., the army stood before Koch Bihár, and on the next day [19th December, 1661], the Nawáb entered the town. The *azán*, or call to prayer, was chanted by Çadr Mir Muhammad Çálih in the Rájah's palace.

The kingdom of Koch Bihár extends from Parganah Bhetarband, "which belongs to his Majesty's empire," to Pátgañw‡ near the frontier of

\* "The frontier of the empire." 'Alamgír-námah. Barítalah lies near Chilmári, near the right bank of the Brahmáputra, opposite to Hatsilah in Parganah Karibári.

† The Bibl. Indica Edition of the 'Alamgír-námah has G'horág'hát, but gives the correct reading in a footnote.

‡ The printed edition has Pápgaón, the MS. Pátgaón. Pátgaón in the north of the Rangpúr District appears to be meant.

The 'Alamgír-námah (p. 691) has the following—

"The length of Koch Bihár is 55 statute (*jaríb*) *kos*, and the breadth 50. \* \* \* Whatever of the country lies within the *band*, is called 'Bhetarband.' One large and two small rivers enter the 'band,' and these, together with such rivers as come from

the kingdom of Morang. It is 52 statute *kos* long. The breadth from the Parganah of Tajhāt, which belongs to the empire, to Pāsakarpūr (پوسکریپور), near K'hont'hag'hāt, is 50 *kos*. The mountains of Bhūtānt, which are inhabited by the Bhūtīahs, produce Tāngan horses, Bhūtīah cloth, Parí,\* and musk. Koch Bihār is well-known for its excellent water, mildness of the climate, its fresh vegetation and flowers. Oranges are plentiful, as also other fruits and vegetables. If properly administrated, the country might yield a revenue of 8 laes of rupees. The inhabitants, since ancient times, are the Meeh and Koeh tribes. The Rājah belongs to the Meeh. Ho coins gold muhurs and Narāin rupees. The zamīndārs of India esteem the Koeh Bihār Rājahs, and believe that they trace their descent from Rājahs who reigned there before the arrival of the Muhammadans in India.

Bhim Nar.in was a noble, mighty king, powerful, and fond of company. He never took his lip from the edge of the bowl, nor his hand from the flagon; he was continually surrounded by singing women, and was so addicted to the pleasures of the harem, that he did not look after his kingdom. His palace is regal, has a *ghusulkhānah*,† a *darshan*, private rooms, accommoda-

other sides, flow into the Sankos. Outside the 'band' are 5 chaklahs, containing 75 parganahs; and within the 'band' there are 12 parganahs. The revenue of the kingdom is nearly 10 laes of Rupees.

\* The printed edition has پاری parí, tho MS. سری sarí. The '*Ālamgír-námah*' says (p. 690) that 'parí' is a kind of thick cloth with long threads (*purzdār*, like coarse plush), woven on strings, and is used for carpets. "Another woollen stuff is called پھوت, phút." The last is very likely a mistake for the *bhūtīah* cloth mentioned in the text.

† The word *ghusulkhānah*, as is well known, means now-a-day a bath-room, or a closet, or both. At the Dihlí court it had a particular meaning, as will be seen from the following extracts. The Bahār i 'Ājam says—"It is said that Sher Shah, when emperor of Dihlí, appointed a room in the Palace where he used to sit after his bath, in order to have his curls dried. (This, by the way, is the only historical statement which ascribes curls [*gesuán*] to Sher Sháh.) When Akbar came to the throne, he called that room *Diwán i khāḡ*. Khān Khazá says that he had heard that the grandees in old times used to sit on coming to pay their respects; but when Akbar came to the throne, he disapproved of it. Ho could not, however, do away with the custom, and built a house where he took his bath, but put on that account no carpets on the ground, so that when the Amírs came in, they had to stand. And from his time, the grandees in presenting reports, &c., have been accustomed to stand. Now the room was called *ghusulkhānah*, and though the bath was in course of time abolished, the name remained."

From the *Pādishāh-námah* (II, p 220) we see that Sháhjahán wished to change the name from *ghusulkhānah* to *darulakhānah i khāḡ*; but the old name remained. Bernier (Calcutta edition I, p 300) calls the 'gosel-kany' an evening reception room.

*Darshan*, as the name implies, is the place where the king shews himself to the people, a general audience hall.

tions for the harem, for servants, baths and fountains, and a garden. In the town there are flowerbeds in the streets, and trees to both sides of them. The people use the sword, firelock, and arrows, as weapons. The arrows are generally poisoned; their mere touch is fatal. Some of the inhabitants are enchanters; they read formulas upon water, and give it the wounded to drink, who then recover. The men and the women are rarely good looking.

As the people, a day before the army arrived, had fled, the Nawab strictly forbade plundering; and a few soldiers, having gone marauding and brought home a cow, or a goat, or a few plantains, were marched through the camp and the town with an arrow stuck through their noses, and the stolen things suspended from their necks. This encouraged the inhabitants, and they returned to their homes.

The son of the Rájah\* about this time fled from his father, and waited on the Nawab, and became a Muhammadan.

Isfandiár Beg, son of the late Iláh Yár Khán, was ordered to Morang to capture Bhawánát'h, the Rájah's vazir. Farhad Khan also was sent there by another route. Rizá Quli Beg Abákash, a companion of Isfandiár, captured the vazir and brought him in fettered, as also his wife and child. According to orders, the Yak Duár was levelled with the ground, and by cutting down the trees for about a hundred yards, an open space was made. 106 guns, 145 zambúráks, 11 rancebangís, 123 matchlocks, and much material and baggage, were seized. The artillery stores were forwarded to Jahángir-nagar. Of the other things Muhammad 'Ábid, the Barrack Master, took charge. A party was then sent to Kanthalbári at the foot of the Bhútant Hills, where the Rájah concealed himself; but the Rájah withdrew to the summit of the mountains. Only an elephant, several horses, and cow earriages, and a Bhútiab, were brought back. The Bhútiab begged hard for his life, and promised to take a letter to the Rájah of Bhútant, whose name is Dhamarájah, and who is over one hundred and twenty years old. He is an ascetic, eats only plantains, drinks only milk, and indulges in no pleasures whatever. He is famous for his justice, and rules over a large people. The prisoner also told us that a river runs through his kingdom, not very broad, but very

\* The '*Álamgír-námah*' calls him Bishu Naráin, and says that Bhim Naráin from distrust had always kept him under surveillance (p. 688).

For *Mech*, the Bibl. Indica edition of that work has Mash (मश). "The inhabitants of Koch Bihár belong to two tribes, the *Mech* and the *Bihar* tribes. The former live within the 'band,' the *Bihárs* without it. In fact the name Koch Bihár has a reference to this tribe; even Ásám is sometimes called 'Koch Ásám.' The people are very ugly, both men and women; they look like Qalmáqs, and have a steel blue complexion. Some are fair. Among the *Meche*s white people are found. This tribe furnishes agriculturists and soldiers" (pp. 692, 693).

The king in the '*Álamgír-námah*' also is described as an effeminate voluptuary, who left every thing in the hands of his vazir 'Bhulánath.'

rapid and deep; and a chain passes over the water, the ends of which are fastened to opposite rocks. Above this chain there is another, the distance between the two being the height of a man. People cross the river by walking along the lower chain and supporting themselves by seizing the upper one; even horses and burdens are made to cross the river on the chain. I cannot vouch for the truth of the Bhútiah's story. The man looked very fair, was strongly built, and had long, light brownish hair, hanging over the shoulders. His only dress was a white cloth which covered his private parts. Their language is related to that of the Kochis. The Nawáb now sent the man with a letter to the Dharmrájah, asking him to seize and send Bhím Naráin to him, or at least drive him from his hills. The man brought at last an answer, in which the Dharmrájah excused himself by saying that he had not called Bhím Naráin; but as he had come unasked, he could not well drive away a guest.

The Nawáb had no time to lose, overlooked the impertinence, and prepared himself to invade Āsám.

Koch Kihār was thus annexed. The name of the town was changed to '*Ālamgír-nagar*'. Isfandiār Beg received from his Majesty the title of Khán, and was to officiate as Faujdár of the country till the arrival of 'Askar Khán, who had been appointed to that office. Isfandiār remained in Koch Bihār with 400 horse of his own contingent, and 1000 Imperial matchlockmen; Qází Samú Shujá'í\* was made Diwán; Mir 'Abdurrazzáq and Khwájah Kishwar Dás Maṇṇabdar were made Amíns.

The Nawáb after a stay of sixteen days started for Āsám.

### The Conquest of A'sa'm.

The Nawáb left Koch Bihār on the 23d Jumáda I., [4th January, 1662],† and marched over K'hont'haghāt into Āsám. Everywhere there were dense jungles. When he arrived at Raṅgámáti, Rashíd Khán joined him. The zamindárs of the district, who believed the conquest impossible, could not be trusted, and the Nawáb had for carriage and guides solely to depend on his own exertions. Dilír Khán was appointed *haráwal* (vanguard); and he and Mir Murtazá, the Dárogah of the Artillery park, had to look after the roads. In consequence of the jungles and the numerous nálahs, which

\* I. e. Qází Samú, who had been in the service of Prince Shujá'. The Bibl. Indica Edition of *Kháfí Khán* calls him Qází Tímúr, evidently on the authority of bad MSS. Besides, Kháfí Khán is an untrustworthy historian.

The "rebellious" princes of the Dihlí house receive nick names at the hands of the historians. Dárá Shikoh, i. e. 'one who has the dignity of Darius,' is called *Dárá be Shikoh*, tho undignified Dárá; Prince Shujá', i. e., 'the brave,' is always called *Náshujá'*, 'tho recreant.' Shahryár, Jahángír's son, who proclaimed himself at Láhor, was nicknamed *Náshudaní*, or 'good-for-nothing.'

† The '*Ālamgír-námah*' (p. 694) says that tho reached tho Brahmáputra on the 28th.



however were mostly shallow, the daily progress was not more than 2 or 2½ *kos*. The fatigues which the men had to undergo defy all description. The grass and the reeds especially were annoying to men and animals.

At last, on the 9th Jumáda II., [20th January, 1662], they reached and took possession of Fort Jogig'hopah\* [opposite Gwálpárá], which belongs to Kánrúp. The enemies had fled without striking a blow. 'Atáullah, a servant of the Nawáb, was left here as Thánahdár. It is a high and large fort on the Brahmáputra. Near it the enemies had for a short distance dug many holes in the ground for the horses to fall into, and pointed pieces of bamboo (called in their language *phánjís*) had been stuck in the holes. Behind the holes, for about half a shot's distance, on even ground, they had made a ditch, and behind this ditch another one three yards deep near the fort. The latter ditch was also full of pointed bamboos. This is the way how the Asamese fortify all their positions. They make their forts, like the Indian peasants, of mud. The Brahmáputra is south of the fort; and on the east a large river, called the Banás, flows past the mountain and joins the Brahmáputra. To the north, the fort is guarded by a ditch, several mountains, and dense jungle. The writer nearly lost one his horses that had put its foot into one of the holes.

A bridge of boats was made over the Banás. At the time of crossing, the guns of a boat fell into the river; so also a gun belonging to the Nawáb, which shot *ser* balls (سیرگوله). The latter was after several days' labour recovered.

Naqiruddín Khán, Yádgár Khán, and other Amírs crossed the Brahmáputra, and marched along the other bank opposite to the army, whilst 'Atáullah, one of the Nawáb's men, was left behind as commander of Jogig'hopah.

On the 24th Jumáda II. [4th February, 1662], the neighbourhood of Gawáhattí was reached. Rashíd Khán was sent off, to prevent the enemies from escaping to the north. But before he could reach, they had fled, and left the fort empty.

On the 25th Jumáda II., the army reached Fort Sríg'hát. The exits and entrances had all been closed with large logs of wood driven into the ground. Some the elephants pulled out, some Hájí Muhammad Bāqir of Isfahán, a servant of the Nawáb, renowned for his strength. The Nawáb entered and inspected the place, and then moved to Gawáhattí, which lies a *kos* further on. Fort Pándú also, which lies on the other side of the river opposite to Sríg'hát, was taken without fight. Yádgár Khán Uzbek killed, however, a

\* The '*Álamgír-námah* (p. 696) says that Jogig'hopah means 'Hermit's Cave,' and was so called from a Hindú Ascetic who had lived there. On the other side of the river was a mountain called Panah Ratan, also fortified. An island on the river had also been fortified with palisades.

large number of the retreating enemies. The garrison also of Fort Kajli, which lies 7 *kos* farther from Fort Pándú, had deserted the stronghold. Some zambúráks, mateblocks, and a quantity of gunpowder, were captured. Fort Srīg'hāt is bigger and higher than Fort Jogig'hopah. Fort Pándú is about equal to Fort Srīg'hāt; Fort Kajli is not less important. Idol-temples devoted to Gaumuk'hiadebi and Lunachamari and Ismā'il Jogi, are upon the mountain near Fort Pándú. From the foot of the mountain to the top there is a stone staircase of more than 950 and less than 1000 steps. Fort Kajli lies near the very same 'Kajliban,' which is mentioned in Hindú books. It is a place full of elephants.

At this time Makardhaj,\* Rājah of Durang, who is subject to the Rājah of Asām, came and paid his respects to the Nawáb, presented an elephant, received a *khal'at*, was promised protection, and was ordered to travel with the army.

Muhammad Beg, a dependent of the Nawáb, was made Faujdár of Gawáhattí, and Hasan Beg Zanganah, also a servant of the Nawáb, was made Thánahdár of Kajli.

## II.

After Rashíd Khán had occupied Rangámáti, before the Nawáb had left Khizrpúr, the zamíndárs of Asām had sent an ambassador to Rashíd Khán with insolent letters. Rashíd sent the man to the Nawáb, who told him in plain terms that if the Rājah of Asām would restore those lands which he had occupied and would send his daughter with a decent *peskash* and also the guns and other things which he had carried off from Kám-rúp, and make a treaty and give his oath that he would in future desist from annoying the imperialists, the Nawáb would give up the expedition. Indeed the Nawáb would have liked such an arrangement, and would have contented himself with the cession of Kám-rúp and a moderate *peskash*, as he wished, after the rains were over, to invade Arakan; for his Majesty had ordered him to send the children and the wives of Prince Shujá' to court. But the Nawáb resolved to settle in this year the affairs of Koch Bihār and Asām, and to go next year to Arakan. The ambassador to whom he had given the above answer, did not return; and after having waited some time at Gawáhattí, on the 27th Jumáda II., the Nawáb set out, and entered Asām Proper. Asamese warfare depends upon tricks and night attacks; hence all guards were ordered to do *chauki* armed and with their horses saddled.

The march was directed to Ghargáon, the capital of the Rājah, which lies on the other side of the Brahmáputra. First it was necessary to take Fort

\* The Bibl. Indica Edition of the '*Atmaghnánah*' (p. 703) has *Makropanj*.

Chamdthurah. At the place Bartínah\* (برتینه), which lies halfway between Gawáhaṭṭi and Chamdthurah, the whole army crossed in two days the Brahmáputra on boats, on the 6th Rajab [15th February, 1662]. A messenger, who had accompanied the former Asamese ambassador, came here into camp with an evasive answer. The Rájah of Dúnuriāh (دومریه), one of the subjects of the Rájah of Āsām, sent his brother's son with an elephant to attend on the Rájah, begging the Nawab to excuse his absence as he was sick. His relation went with the camp.

At this time Mírzá Beg, the Bakhshí of the Nawáb, was killed. He was stabbed by one of his soldiers; but though mortally wounded, he inflicted two sword-cuts on the man. Mírzá Beg died during the night, and the murderer was killed by Mírzá Beg's relations.

At one of the stages, a tremendous storm took place, during which many ships were upset; large pieces of hail also fell, and many horses threw themselves into the river. The Asamese, thinking that Fort Chamdthurah would be, as it had been in former expeditions, the farthest point of the advance of the imperialists, had strengthened the fortifications of Símlehgar, which lies on the other side of the river, opposite to Chamdthurah. On the 11th Rajab [20th February, 1662], the army encamped at the foot of Símlehgar, so near the fort that a zambúrak ball from the fort passed over the Nawáb's tent. Some of the Nawab's men wished to take the fort by climbing up; but as this would have cost much human life, they were ordered not to do so, and a siege was commenced.

Símlehgar is very strong and high. The inhabitants are as numerous as ants and locusts. Two sides of the fort have walls with battlements, and guns are placed without break upon them. The guns are all manned. At the foot of the walls are a ditch and the customary holes with the *phánjís*. On the south side, the fort ends in a hill extending for four *kos*. The

\* برتینه, MS. برتیه. The 'Alamgírnamah does not give the name.

The name 'Bartínah' is doubtful, and our modern maps do not help us to identify the place where Mír Jnnlah crossed for the left bank of the Brahmáputra. Chamdthurah lies opposite to Tezpúr, the maps giving a Mahall Chamdhoree and a place of the same name. A Chamdhoreegaon I find marked on an island of the Brahmáputra, east of Tezpúr, half way between Tezpúr and the Kanakhya Temple.

Símlehgar (for which the Bibl. Indica Edition of *Kháfí Khán* gives *Bhámgar*) is not on our maps; but it cannot lie far from Tezpúr, as it is said to lie opposite to Chamdthurah. After the conquest of Símlehgar, the Nawáb inspects the fort, and encamps on the same day at Kulyābar, which lies on the left bank of the Brahmáputra, S. E. of Tezpúr.

The identification of these names is a difficult matter, as it would appear that the numerous branches of the Brahmáputra are often shifting. Mr. Foster (*vide* pp. 35, 39) identifies Bernier's Chamdara with a place of the same name five miles from Ghargáon. This may be correct; but if so, it is another Chamdara, because the Chamdthurah opposite to Símlehgar lies, as will be seen below, seven days' marches west of Lak'húgar, the western point of Majuli Island.

northern wall is near the Brahmáputra, about 3 *kos* distant from it. A nálah extends from the south of the fort, touching the southern bastion and from there flows westward. The army encamped on the banks of this nálah.

Mahmúd Beg distinguished himself by his alertness. Dilír Khán and Mír Murtazá were in advance, and threw up trenches within gun-shot distance from the fort. The big guns were sent to them; but as the walls of the fort were too wide, the guns made little impression on them. The commanders, however, carried their covered ways (*sibah*) close up to the wall, continually exposed to the fire of the enemies. In one night, a sally on the covered trenches was with difficulty repulsed.

### III.

#### *The Conquest of Símlahgar.*

The attacking column moved forward in the night of the 15th Rajab, commanded by Dilír Khán. Adam Khán tells the author that Dilír's elephant received twenty-five wounds. Farhád Khán and Aghar Khán were wounded. Dilír enters the fort, and Mír Murtazá opens the gate. The enemies fly. Mahmúd Beg pursues them. A good number of Musalmán men and women were found, whom the enemies had forced to remain with them.

The fall of Símlahgar broke the spirit of the hostile garrison of Chamdhurah. They fled.

The Nawáb entered Símlahgar on the 16th Rajab [26th February, 1662], and was astonished to see the strength of the fortifications. He then encamped at Kulyábar (كلیابری). Much war material was taken. No marauding whatever was allowed; in fact during the whole expedition, which lasted one year, the punishments inflicted on marauders were most severe.

Sayyid Nağıruddín Khán was made Faujdár of Kulyábar; and Sayyid Mírzá, Sayyid Nisár,\* and Rájah Kishn Singh garrisoned Chamdhurah.

### IV.

#### *Victorious progress of the fleet. Arrival at Lak'húgar.*

The Nawáb left Kulyábar on the 20th Rajab [2nd March, 1662]. On account of the hills along the banks of the Brahmáputra, the army had to march at some distance from the river, and was thus separated from the ships. It happened that Ibn Husain for some important reason was away from the fleet with the army, when suddenly, after evening prayer, on the 21st Rajab, 7 or 800 hostile ships attacked the fleet, which had just anchored. Munawwar Khán Zamindár and 'Alí Beg did their best till more ships came up. The cannonade lasted the whole night, and was heard by the army. The Nawáb sent Muhammad Múmin Beg (a servant of Yakaház Khán)

\* The Bibl. Indica Edition of the '*Alamgír-námah* (p. 713) has 'Sayyid Tátár.'



to assist the fleet. He arrived at the first watch of the morning at a nālāh near the river and the fleet, and told his trumpeters to blow. This decided the fate of the engagement. 300 or 400 ships, with a gun on each, were seized. The author was with the fleet.

The next day the army again approached the river.

The conquest of Simlahgar and the defeat of their fleet disheartened the Asamese. They withdrew to the hills, and trusted to surprises and night-attacks.

The Nawáb then reached *Solahgar* (سوله‌گو), where several Amírs came with letters from the Rájah—Amírs are called in Asamese *Phúkans* (پھوکن)—, and asked for peace. But it soon became evident that their object was to cause delay or a decrease in vigilance, in which hope they were disappointed.

On the 27th Rajab [9th March, 1662], the Nawáb reached Lak'húgar. Here eleven elephants of the Rájah were seized. A Brahman, an inhabitant of Dewalgáon and spiritual guide of the Rájah, came to the camp; so did Yalnóí Phúkan, who brought a *pándán*, a gold vessel, and two silver jars, 100 gold muhurs, and a submissive letter from the Rájah. But the letter was not deemed sincere, and a reply was sent that the Nawáb would soon be in Ghargáon, where alone he would treat with the Rájah.

Lak'húgar\* lies at the confluence of the Dihing River with the Brahmáputra. The Dihing comes from the mountains north of Ghargáon, and he who goes to Ghargáon travels along the southern banks of the Dihing. Between the Dihing and the Brahmáputra is a tract (خزيرة) which stretches to the mountains of Námruṭ, and is well cultivated.

Ghargáon itself lies on the Dik'ho Nālāh, which 8 kos from the town joins the Dihing. It is very shallow, and the fleet was ordered to remain stationed at Lak'húgar, in charge of Ibn Husain Dárogah, Jamál Khán, 'Alí Beg, Munawwar Khán, &c. The fleet consisted of 323 ships, viz.,

Carried forward..... 280	
159 kosahs (کوسه)	palils (پلیل) ..... 1
48 jalbahs (جلبه)	bhars (بهر) ..... 1
10 ghrábs (غراب)	báláms (بالام) ..... 2
7 parindahs (پونده)	khatgiris (خطگیری) ..... 10
4 bajrahs (بجره)	mahallgiris (محلگیری) ... 5
50 patilahs (پتيله)	palwárahs (پلواره) and
2 salbs (سلب)	other small ships ..... 24
280	Total..... 323

On the 28th of this month, the sun entered Arics.

\* Lak'húgar lies on the confluence of the Dihing and the Brahmáputra. The Dihing River, on Lieut. Wilcox's Survey map, published in Vol. XVI of the Asiatic

## V.

*The Conquest of Ghargáon.*

On the 1st Sha'bán, 1072 [12th March, 1662], the Nawáb left Lak'húgar, crossed the nálah, and encamped at the Náosál, or arsenal, of the Rájah. Next day, they came to Dewalgáon, where the spiritual guide of the Rájah lives, crossed a nálah, the water of which reached up to the saddles of the horses, and encamped on the banks. An idol temple and a fine garden, near the Dihing River, are the sights of Dewalgáon. There were plenty of orange trees, full of very large and unusually juicy oranges. They were sold in the camp at ten for a pice. 'Alí Rizá Beg was made Thánahdár of Dewalgáon.

Several Muhammadans of the place informed the Nawáb that the Rájah kept a large number of Musalmáns imprisoned, and had fled with his valuables to Nám-rúp.

On the 4th Sha'bán [15th March], the Nawáb set out, and encamped at the village of Gajpúr. Farhád Khán and Mir Sayyid Muhammad Díwán i tan, and other Amírs, were ordered to march quickly to Ghargáon, and seize upon the elephants and other property, which the Nawáb had heard were still there. Anwar Beg, a servant of the Nawáb, was made Thánahdár of Gajpúr. Four elephants were here also seized.

On the 5th Sha'bán, [16th March] the Nawáb encamped at Taramhání (تورمانی), which is the name of the confluence of the Dik'ho and the Dihing, and made Núrullah, one of his servants, Thánahdár of Taramhání. He collected here much cattle. Muhammad Muqín was ordered to seize on Nám-ding,\* a place between Taramhání and Ghargáon and a nálah, which comes from the hill and passes it.

Researches, forms with the Buriar Lohit Branch the Majoli Island. Mr. Peal informs me that the Lohit is the old bed of the Brahmáputra; the Dik'ho and the Disang fell into the Dihing, and the Majoli Island was joined to Muttok by an isthmus. On modern maps the name of Dihing is not used; the Lohit is looked upon as a branch, and the former Dihing branch is now called Brahmáputra. On no map have I found Lak'húgar, which circumstance may be due to the shifting of the stream. But if it lay at the confluence of the modern Lohit and Brahmáputra, it can scarcely be identical with the Leckwa mentioned on p. 38; for the distance of the point of confluence from Ghargáon is more than a geographical degree. Nor can I find the place Solahgar, 'which lies between Kulyábar and Lak'húgar.'

\* Dewalgáon lies two miles N. E. of the point where the Ladhiúgarh crosses the Sioní Al (or Allí, which seems to be the word now-a-days used in Āśám). Gajpúr lies two miles from Jorhát. At Gajpúr the Nawáb was on the Sioní Al; he then turned off to the Bor Al, on which Taramhání must have been. Mr. Foster suggests to alter the Taramhání of the MSS. to *Tarah-hánt* (تورمانی), which means 'a feeding-ground.' The letters *he* and *mím* are constantly confused in MSS., and Mr. Foster's conjecture does the reading of the MSS. no violence. It is also significant that at Tarahání the Nawáb

At every station the road was intersected by nálahs; in fact they are so numerous, that I cannot mention each singly.

On the 16th Sha'bán, [17th March, 1662] the Nawáb entered Ghargáon. He crossed the Dik'ho, and went eastward, and occupied the Rájah's palace.

The next day many guns were recovered from the tanks into which the Rájah had thrown them before his flight; 82 elephants, and nearly three laes of rupees in gold and silver, were also found. The number of guns which were captured, from the starting of the expedition till the return, was 675, among them a large iron gun (توپ آهنی بچہ دار) the balls of which weighed 3 *mans*; 1343 zambúráks; 1200 rámcchangís; and 6570 matchlocks; 340 *mans* of powder; 1960 boxes with powder, in each box about 2 or 2½ *mans* of powder; 7828 shields; a large quantity of saltpetre, iron, sulphur, and lead; 1000 and odd ships, many of which accommodated 80, 70, and 60 sailors. Unfortunately 123 *bachhári* ships, like which no other existed in the dock-yards at Ghargáon, were burned, some Asamese having set fire to the *chhappars* under which they were kept. About 173 store houses for rice were discovered, over which matchlockmen were placed as guards, each of the houses containing from ten to one thousand *mans* of rice. These stores proved very useful.

## VI.

### *On Aś'm and its Inhabitants.\**

Aś'm is a wild and inaccessible country, cultivated only along the Brahmáputra, which flows through it from east to west. From Gawáhaṭṭi to Sadiah (سدیه) the distance is about 200 *kos*. The breadth from the hills, inhabited by the Mírís, Michmís [Mishmís], Duflahs, and Lándahs,† up to the

"collects cattle," and Mr. Foster tells me that according to the legends the Bor Al was expressly constructed to bring the Rájah's milk from the feeding grounds to Ghargáon.

The Nawáb then marches along the Bor Al, a magnificent road, to Nándáng, for which the '*Alamgír-námah*' (p. 719) has 'Lándáng, and the '*Fathíyah*', 'Rándáng. The Nándáng River flows into the Dik'ho, N. N. W. of Ghargáon. The distance of Nándáng from the Bánsgarh of Ghargáon is about ten miles. At the place where the Bor Al enters the Bánsgarh, there is still a ruined fortified gateway, called the 'Singh Duár,' from which the Dik'ho is about four miles distant.

\* The greater part of this chapter is given in the '*Alamgír-námah*, from which it was translated into English by Mr. H. Vansittart in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, p. 171. But as his proper names are mostly wrong, I give here a full translation of the chapter as given in the more complete '*Fathíyah i 'Ibriyah*.

† All MSS. have clearly *lándah*. If the word is correct, it would refer to a tribe of Aborigines not mentioned in our Ethnological works. Col. Dalton, to whom I

district of the Nágá tribes, is about a journey of seven or eight days. Its southern mountains reach the Khasiah (خصيه), Kaachhár, and the Gonaser Hills\* lengthways, and in the breadth, the Nágá Hills. Its northern mountains reach the high ridges of Kámrúp lengthways, and in the breadth the hills occupied by the Duflahs and the Lándahs.

The northern banks of the Brahmaputra form the Uttarkol; the southern, the Dak'hinkol. The Uttarkol extends from Gawáhañí to the country of the Mírís and Michmís; and the Dak'hinkol from the kingdom of Nakírání (نكيرانى)† to Sadiáh. The hill tribes pay no tribute to the Rájah of Ásám, but regard him with awe, and submit to some of his orders. But the Duflahs do not obey him, and often make raids into the Rájah's territory.

The distance between Kulyábar and Ghargáon is well cultivated; everywhere are houses, gardens, and orchards. Along the sides of the road there

submitted this passage, says in a letter—"I cannot make out the word 'Lándah;' but from the relative position of the word with the names of the other tribes of the North bank, I think, the author must mean the Akas or Ankas; and if you read the passage thus "The breadth of Ásám from the hills inhabited by the (1) Mishmís, (2) Mírís, (3) Duflahs, (4) Ankas, to the Nágá Hills, &c.," you have the tribes in their proper geographical order. Your author includes only Upper and Central Ásám in his description of what he calls Ásám, excluding Kámrúp. This explains what might otherwise appear obscure when he says (in the following sentence)—"The northern mountains (i. e. those in which the Mishmís, Mírís, &c., dwell) extend to the high ridges of Kámrúp."

Regarding the Mírís, Mishmís, and Duflahs (Dophlas) the reader will find the fullest information in Col. Dalton's "Ethnology of Bengal."

\* The text has کشمیر Kashmír; the MS. of the Asiatic Society has كاشمير Kashír, or كانشير Kanashír. The 'Alamgírámah boldly substitutes Srinagar (i. e., Kashmir), which Vansittart also gives. But this is absurd. I have conjecturally translated *Gonaser Hills*, i. e. كانشير Gunasher, following the MS. of the Asiatic Society. A part of what we now call the Gáro Hills is evidently meant; and I find that Rennell,—but no modern map—calls the southern portion of the Gáro Hills *Gonaser* (Map ix, of the Bengal Atlas). The order of his hills from the east is Kachhár Hills, Jaintiah Hills, Gonaser Hills, Karim Hills, Karibáí Hills. His Gáro Hills are north of the Gonaser Hills. The word *Nágá* is spelt with a nasal n, 'Nánga;' hence Vansittart's *Nunac*. For his *Zemlah*, زملہ, we have to read *Duflahs* ذفلة,—a shifting of the dot.

† Col. Dalton says:—"The author again excludes Kámrúp from Ásám, and commences the Uttarkol from Gawáhañí. The modern Gawáhañí is on the south bank; but the ancient city, called Pragjotishpúr, occupied a vast area on both banks. Nakírání I cannot make out; it may, however, refer to Deshrání, a large parganah of Kámrúp, close to the modern Gawáhañí."

Col. Dalton's identification is confirmed by the author's wish to exclude Kámrúp from Ásám; hence the Dak'hinkol must commence with the Deshrání parganah. The name again occurs below in the articles of peace (p. 91).



are high bamboo-shrubs. There are many wild and cultivated flowers, and behind the bamboos, as far as the hills, there are fields and gardens. So it is also along the road from Lak'húgar to Ghargáon. There is a high and wide *ál*, or raised road, up to Ghargáon.

The fields and the gardens are made so even in this country, that the eye up to the far horizon rejoices to see neither depression nor elevation. On the whole, the Uttarkol is better cultivated; but as the Dak'hinkol is better fortified by nature and less easy to cross, the Rájahs of Ásám have generally lived in this part. The climate of all parts near the Brahínáputra is healthy for natives and strangers; but the districts remote from the river are deadly to strangers, though they may be healthy enough for the natives of the place. The rains often last for eight months; even the cold season is not free from rain.

In the cold season, fluxes and fevers attack the natives and spare strangers; in the hot season, strangers suffer more than natives, especially from bilious complaints. But the natives of Ásám are free from several disgusting diseases, as leprosy, white leprosy, elephantiasis, abscesses, swellings of the neck and the testicles, which last complaint is so common in Bengal, and from other diseases. The air and the water in the hills are fatal to natives and strangers. The fruits and flowers of Bengal are found in Ásám; but there are many that are neither to be had in Bengal, nor in other parts of India. Cocoonut and Ním are rare; but *jiljil* (pepper), *sádaj* (spikenard),\* and different kinds of lemons are common. The mangoes are plentiful, but full of worms; sweet ones without strings are rare. The pine apples are large and taste well; the black, red, and white sugarcane is sweet, but so hard as to break one's teeth; ginger is large and delicate, and not stringy either. Paniálahs, a kind of ámlah, are very fine, and many prefer them to plums.

The staple food of the country is rice; but the superior kinds are rare. Wheat, barley, vetches, are not sown, though the ground is suitable for their cultivation. In fact, everything grows well. Salt is very dear. At the foot of the hills, salt is, indeed, found, but it has a bitter, biting taste. Some of the natives dry the *kelah* plant in the sun, burn it, and collect the ashes in a white sheet, which they fix on four poles. They then pour gradually water on the ashes, and catch whatever percolates in a vessel below the sheet. The liquid is saltpetre-like and very bitter; but they use it as salt. Ducks and fowls are very large. Their fighting cocks are very plucky, and rarely run away. If a weak cock fight with a strong one and get its head broken and its brain scattered about, or be dying, it will never take its eyes from

\* Vansittart says that *sádaj* is the same as *tezpát*, *Laurus cassia*, laurel leaf. Sir W. Jones has an article on the Asamese spikenard in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, 405.

the opponent or show its back. Elephants are large and numerous in a wild state in the hills. Gazelles, stags, nilgāos, and wild goats, are rare.

In Ghargāon there were several cage-like enclosures, secured with strong and high poles. It is said that some elephant drivers of the Rājah rub a certain kind of grass over the body of a female elephant, and let her go among wild elephants when they rut. As soon as they smell the scent of the grass, they will run after her, and will even follow her to the enclosure to which the driver leads her, when they are caught. The Nawáb tried in vain to get hold of one of the drivers.

Gold is found in the Brahmaputra; about ten thousand people are employed in the washings. Each man makes in the average a tolah of gold *per annum*, and hands it to the Rājah. But the gold is not fine, and sells for 9 or 8 rupees *per tolah*.

Cowries are in use; and rupees and muhurs, coined by the Rājah, are current. Copper is not current. In the hills of the Miris and Miehmis who live in Eastern Āsām, in Uttarkol, about eleven days' journey from Ghargāon, musk deer and wild elephants are found. Silver, copper, and tin (ارزین) also are obtained in their hills. The way these people live, resembles the way of the Asamese. Their women are generally better looking than the women in Āsām. They dread matchlocks, and say, "A matchlock is a thing that makes a great noise, and does not stir from its place, whilst a child issues from its womb that kills a man." The musk deer is also found in the mountains of Āsām. The musk bags are larger than large [gram] grains, and have a fine colour and perfume. Lignum aloes, which is chiefly found in the mountains of Nāmáníp, Sadiah, and Lak'húgar, is heavy, coloured, and has a strong scent.

If Āsām were administrated like other parts of the empire, it is quite possible that the land-tax and the revenue from wild elephants and other imposts might amount to 45 lacs of Rupees.\* It is not customary to levy taxes from the inhabitants; but of every three people in each house one is taken for the service of the Rājah. If a man is lazy in what he is told to do, capital punishment is immediately inflicted; hence the absolute sway of the Rājah.

No Indian king in former times ever conquered Āsām. Even the intercourse of foreigners and the Asamese was very limited. They allow no stranger to enter their territories, and prevent their own people from leaving the country. Once a year, at the order of the Rājah, a party of Asamese used to visit the neighbourhood of Gawahattí and the boundary of the

\* Last year's revenue of the whole Āsām Division, which contains the districts of Dúrang, Kámáníp, Lak'himpúr, Naugāon, and Síbságar, in addition to the Nágá, Khasiah, and Jaintiah Hills, amounted to nearly 21 lacs (Rs. 20,93,374).

country, bringing gold, musk, lignum aloes, filfil, sádaj, and silk. These articles they gave in exchange for salt, saltpetre, sulphur, and other things, which the people of Gawahatī used to furnish. But all armies that entered Āsām perished, and no caravan ever got safe out of it. If an army invaded the country, it was exposed to continual night attacks; or the people withdrew to the hills, and waited for the beginning of the rains, when the soldiers were sure to die or could easily be cut off.

Thus Husain Sháh, one of the kings of Bengal, invaded Āsām with 24000 foot and horse and numerous ships. The Rájah withdrew to the hills. Husain Sháh, therefore, took possession of the country, left his son there with a strong detachment, and returned to Bengal. As soon as the rains set in, the Rájah came down from the hills and, assisted by his own people, who had of course submitted to Husain's son, killed the prince, starved the army, and managed to capture or kill the whole of them. It is said that the people who are now called Moslems in Āsām, are the descendants of the captives of Husain's army.\*

It is from the misfortunes which have invariably befallen those who entered Āsām, that the people of India have come to look upon the Asamese as sorcerers, and use the word 'Āsām' in such formulas as dispel witchcraft.

The Āsām Rájahs have always been insolent and proud of their power and the number of their men.

The present Rájah, Jaidhaj Singh, is called Sargi Rájah, because *sarg* in Hindí means 'heaven.' The fellow believes that one of his ancestors commanded the heavenly host, and descended from heaven on a golden ladder; and as he found the country beautiful, he remained there instead of returning to heaven. The present Rájah is much prouder than his ancestors: for a slight fault he will destroy a whole family, or on suspicion throw people into fetters. His wife only gives birth to daughters, and has no son; hence the

\* *Vide* Prinsep's list of the Āsām Rájahs, p. 273, of Thomas's Edition of Prinsep's Useful Tables. His list is based upon the *Āsām Būranjī*, or *Āsām Chronicle*, by Huirám Dhaikiyál Phukan, of Gawahatī. Another *Āsām Būranjī*, or history of the kings of Āsām, was compiled by Śrī Radhanath Bar Baruwá and Kásínath Tánulí Phukau, (printed by the American Baptist Mission Press, Sibságar, Āsām 1844, 8vo, 102 pp.).

Husain's invasion is generally referred to A. D. 1498, and his son's name is said to have been Dalál (Julál, ?) Ghází.

The '*Ālangírdmah*' and the *Āsām Histories* speak of an invasion of Āsām by Muhammad Sháh (A. D., 1337). The former work says (p. 731)—"Muhammad Sháh, son of Tughluq Sháh, sent 100,000 horse well equipped to Āsām; but the whole army perished in that land of witchcraft, and not a trace was left of the army. He sent a second army to avenge the former disaster; but when they came to Bengal, they would not go farther, and the plan had to be given up."

Thus it would seem that Muhammad Tughluq intended to invade China viâ Āsām. *Vide* Dowson, Elliot's History, Vol. III, pp. 241, 242.

word 'suecession' has a bad name in Ásám, especially as there is no male relation in the whole family. He professes to be a Hindú; but as he believes himself to be one of the great emanations of the deity, he worships no idols. The inhabitants profess no religion whatever. They eat whatever they get, and from whomsoever it be, following the bent of their uncivilized minds. They will accept food from Muhammadans and other people; they will eat every kind of flesh except human, whether of dead or killed animals. They taboo butter, so much so that they refuse food, if it only smells of butter.

The language of the Asamese differs entirely from the dialects spoken in Eastern Bengal.

The males are strongly built. They are quarrelsome, fond of shedding blood, fearless in affrays, merciless, mean, and treacherous; in lies and deceit they stand unrivalled beneath the sun. Their women have mild features, but are very black; their hair is long, and their skin soft and smooth; their hands and feet are delicate. From a distance the people look well; but they are ill-favoured as far as proportion of limbs is concerned. Hence if you look at them near, you will call them rather ugly. Neither the women of the Rájah, nor those of common people, veil themselves; they go about in the bazars without head-coverings. Few men have less than two wives; most have four or five. The several wives of a man will carry on sales and barter among each other.

In paying respect, the Asamese bend the knees; and when the subjects go to the king or the *phúkans*, they bend their knees, sit *dozánú*, and fix their eyes on the ground. They shave the head and beard and whiskers; and if a man only departs a little from this custom, they call him Bengalized and kill him.

Asses, camels, horses, are as rare in Ásám as phœnixes; but like asses they will admire a donkey and pay a high price for it. If they see a camel, they get quite excited in their admiration. They are afraid of horses. If they catch one, they cut through the sinews of the feet; and if a horseman attack a hundred armed Asamese, they will throw down their arms, and run away; but if one of them should meet ten Muhammadans on foot, he will fearlessly attack them and even be victorious.

To sell an elephant is looked upon as a heinous crime. The Rájah and the Phúkans travel in *singhásans*, and chiefs and rich people in *dúllis*, made in a most ridiculous way. They use a kind of chair instead of howdahs. Turbans, long coats, trowsers, shoes, and sleeping on *chár páis*, are quite unusual. They use a coarse cloth for the head, one for the waist, and a sheet for the shoulders. Some of the richer people wear a kind of half coat, which resembles our *Jáqubkhání* jacket. Those who can afford it, sleep on a wooden dais.



They eat *pán* in large quantities with unripe *supári*, unshelled. They weave excellent flowered silk, velvet, *táthands*, and other silks. Boxes, trays, stools, chairs, are cleverly and neatly made of one piece of wood. I saw several stools belonging to the *Rājah*, two cubits broad; even the feet were cut out of the same piece, and not merely joined to it.

Their war-sloops resemble the Bengali *kosahs*. They call them *bacháris*. The difference is only this that at the poop and the stern, the *kosah* has two planks (شاخ, *pr.* branches); but the poop (*sar*) and the *keel* (بن) of the *bacháris* are made of one flattened plank. They are slower than *kosahs*. The shipping traffic may be estimated from remarks taken from the reports of the *Wáqí'ahnawis* of *Gawáhattí* for *Ramazán* last. He says that, up to the present time, no less than 32,000 boats, *bacháris* and *kosahs*, have arrived here. The number of ships engaged for the army, and those belonging to the *Asamese* which accompanied the army on its return, must certainly have been larger; and it is probable that more than one half belonged to *Asamese*. The ships are built of *chambal* wood (چنبل, MS. جنبل); and a ship built of such wood, no matter how full it is, will never, on sinking, remain at the bottom of the water. This fact was examined by many, and by me, too. Their matchlocks and *bachahdár* guns are well cast, and the people show much expertness in the manufacture. Their powder is of several kinds; for the best kind they import the components from his Majesty's country.

With the exception of the gates of *Ghargáon* and some idol temples, houses in *Ásám* are not built of bricks or stones and mortar. Rich and poor build their houses of wood or bamboo or grass.

The ancient inhabitants of this country belong to two nations, the *Asamese* and the *Kulitá* (كلتا).<sup>\*</sup> The latter, in all things, are superior to the former, except where fatigues are to be undergone, and in warlike expedi-

\* "The *Kolitas* are the only pure descendants of the *Aryans* who first colonized *Ásám*. They were dominant there for many centuries, and had evidently arrived at a high state of civilization when the inroads of the *Mongolians* commenced. There was a *Hindu Pál* dynasty in the upper portion of the valley with their head quarters at *Sadiáh*, who succumbed to a *Chutiá* or *Kachári* invasion, probably about the same time that the *Kámrúp Hindu* dynasty was subverted by the *Koch*. Afterwards the *Shans* conquered the valley from *Sadiáh* to *Kámrúp*, and on the retreat of the *Muhamadans* invaded and took possession of *Kámrúp*. These *Shans* after their first successes called themselves the '*Ahom*,' or 'the non-equalled people,' and hence the name of *Ásám*." *Vide Col. Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal*, Group II, Sect. I.

The interchange of *s* and *h* is very common in *Asamese*; several other examples will be found below. It is curious that the same interchange of *h* and *s* should be found in *Ásám*, the farthest east, and in *Sindh*, the farthest west; for it is *Sindh*, country and river, which, in its pronunciation *hind*, induced the *Greeks* to call the whole country *India*.

tions, in which the former are better. Six or seven thousand Asamese guard the environs of the palace and the harem of the Rājāh. The guards are called *jaulāngs* (چوردانگ),\* and are the trusted and devoted servants and executioners of the Rājāh. The arms used by the people are matchlocks, *rāmchangīs*, guns, arrows with ironpoints and without them, half swords, long lances, bamboo bows, and *Takhsh* arrows. At the time of war, all trades people and well-to-do peasants, and farmers, with or without armour, have to serve, whether they will or not.† Like jackals, they will commence a tremendous howl, and will like foxes think that the noise frightens the lions of the bush. A small number of their fighting men may indeed cheekmate thousands; they are the *aḥal* Asamese; but their number does not exceed 20,000.‡ They are given to night attacks, for which they especially believe the night of Tuesday to be auspicious. But the common people will run away, with or without fighting, and only think of throwing away their armours.

They bury their dead with the head towards the East and the feet towards the West. The chiefs erect funeral vaults (دخمه) for their dead, kill the women and servants of the deceased, and put necessaries, &c., for several years, *viz.* elephants, gold and silver vessels, carpets, clothes, and food, into the vaults. They fix the head of the corpse rigidly with poles, and put a lamp with plenty of oil and a *mash'alchī* [torchbearer] alive into the vault, to look after the lamp. Ten such vaults were opened by order of the Nawāb, and property worth about 90,000 Rupees was recovered.§ In one vault in which the wife of a Rājāh about 80 years ago had been buried, a golden *pāndān* was found, and the *pān* in it was still fresh. This fact was related by Pāyandah Beg, Assistant Wāqī'ahnawīs, and by Shāh Beg, at an evening

\* *Vulgo* Sowdangs.

† *Vide* Robinson's *Descriptive Account* of Asam, p. 200. Robinson's work is a very valuable book. The author died in Āsām of fever, and lies buried in Mr. Foster's compound in Nāzirah, Upper Āsām.

‡ "What the Persian Historian says of the physical superiority of the Asamese over the Kolitās was, no doubt, quite true at the time; for the Asamese were then a hardy, meat-eating, beer-drinking, fighting race, and the Kolitās were effeminate subjected Hindūs." From a letter by Col. Dalton. Regarding the Kolitās, *vide* Col. Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, last group.

§ "The account of the burial of Ahom maguantes is confirmed by more recent disclosures of desecrated graves. About twenty years ago, several mounds, known to be the graves of Ahom kings, were opened and were found to contain not only the remains of the kings, but of slaves, male and female, and of animals that had been immolated to serve their masters in Hades; also gold and silver vessels, food, raiment, arms, &c., were not wanting." From a letter by Col. Dalton.

An account of the opening of some of these tombs will be found in the *Journal* of this Society, Vol. xvii, Pt. I., p. 473.

party given by the Nawáb; and Rasmi Beg, who received the *pándín*, told me the same.

The Muslims whom we met in Ásám, are Asamese in their habits, and Muhammadans but in name. In fact they liked the Asamese better than us. A few Musalmán strangers that had settled there, kept up prayers and fasts; but they were forbidden to chant the azán and read the word of God in public.

The town of Ghargáon has four gates built of stone and mortar, the distance of each of which from the palace of the Rájah is three *kos*. A high and wide *ál*, very strong, has been made for the traffic (برای تردد مردم); and round about the town, instead of fortifications, there are circular bushes of bamboos, about two *kos* in diameter. But the town is not like other towns, the huts of the inhabitants being within the bamboo bushes near the *Al*. Each man has his garden or field before his house, so that one side of the field touches the *Al*, and the other the house. Near the Rájah's palace, to both sides of the Dik'ho River, are large houses. The bazar road is narrow, and is only occupied by *pán*-sellers. Eatables are not sold as in our markets; but each man keeps in his house stores for a year, and no one either sells or buys. The town looks large, being a cluster of several villages. Round about the palace, an *ál* has been thrown up, the top of which is fortified by a bamboo palisade instead of by walls, and along the sides of it a ditch runs, the depth of which exceeds a man's height. It is always full of water. The circumference is 1 *kos*, 14 *jaribs*. Inside are high and spacious *chhappars*. The Diwánkhánah of the Rájah, which is called *solang*, is one hundred and twenty cubits in length and thirty wide inside. It has sixty-six pillars, each about four cubits in circumference. The pillars, though so large, are quite smooth, so that at the first glance you take them to be planed (خراطی). Now though the Asamese understand planing, yet you cannot believe that they did smoothen the pillars in this way. The ornaments and curiosities with which the whole woodwork of the house is filled, defies all description: nowhere in the whole inhabited world, will you find a house equal to it in strength, ornamentation, and pictures. The sides of this palace are embellished by extraordinary wooden trellice work. Inside there are large brass mirrors highly polished, and if the sun shines on one of them, the eyes of the by-standers are perfectly dazzled. Twelve thousand workmen are said to have erected the building in the course of one year. At one end of the hall, rings are fastened on four pillars opposite to each other, each pillar having nine rings. When the Rájah takes his seat in the hall, they put a dais in the middle of these four pillars, and nine canopies of various stuffs are fastened above it to the rings. The Rájah then sits on the dais below the canopies. The *naqqárahís* (drummers) strike the drum and the *dánd*. The latter instrument is round and

flat, and made of *rúín* metal, and is struck like a gong. The instrument is used when the audience commences, or when the Rájah issues forth, or the Phúkans ride out, or leave for an appointment. Mullá Darwísh i Harawí [a poet who accompanied the expedition] says that these *dinds* must be the very identical metal plates\* that are mentioned in the Sháhnámah; but God knows best. There are other houses in Ghargáon, beautifully adorned, strong, very long and spacious, full of fine mats, which really must be seen. But alas, unless this kingdom be annexed to his Majesty's dominions, not even an infidel could see all these fine things without falling into the misfortunes into which we fell. Beyond the enclosure of this hall there is another house, the dwelling-house of the Rájah. It is a fine and beautiful house. The Phúkans have erected dwellings in its neighbourhood. Each Phúkan is a son-in-law of the Rájah, and has a beautiful garden and a tank. Indeed, it is a pleasant place. As the soil of the country is very damp, the people do not live on the ground floor, but on the *machún*, which is the name for a raised floor.

## VII.

### *Advance of the army to Mat'hurápúr. Erection of Thánahs.*

The Rájah had first intended to fly to the Nágá Hills, but from fear of our army, the Nágás would not afford him an asylum.

The Nágás live in the southern mountains of Āsám, have a light brown complexion, are well built, but treacherous. In number they equal the helpers of Yagog and Magog, and resemble in hardness and physical strength the 'Adís [an ancient Arabian tribe]. They go about naked like beasts, and do not mind to copulate with their women in the streets and the bazars, before the people and the chiefs. The women only cover their breasts,† as they say that it would be absurd to cover those limbs which every one might have seen from their birth; but this was not the case with the breasts, which since then had formed and should, therefore, be covered. Some of their chiefs came to see the Nawáb. They wore dark hip-clothes (لنگ), ornamented with cowries, and round about their heads they wore a belt of boar's tusks, allowing their black hair to hang down over the neck. The chief weapon of these people is the short mace (ژوبین).

\* *Vide* Kin translation, p. 562, note 1.

† "I have seen Nágás to the south of Sibságar who answer to the description of that people by the Persian historian. Both sexes go quite naked. The women I did not see; but I recollect having heard that when seen by strangers, they folded their arms across their breasts, and were regardless of what else was exposed." From a letter by Col. Dalton.

The illustrations to Col. Dalton's 'Ethnology of Bengal' and the specimens of Nágá dress in our museum, show that the boar's tusks mentioned below are a very common ornament for caps. They also protect the head.



The Rájah had, therefore, fled with the Phúkans to Nám-rúp.\* This Nám-rúp may be called a part of hell. It lies in the hollow of three high ridges, and its climate is worse than that of the well of Babel. The Asamese say, "if a bird flies over it, bats will yield their lives, and if steel enters the ground, it turns to wax." The Rájahs used to banish to Nám-rúp those whom their sword had spared.

There is only one road in the country† along which a horse can pass, and this road lends to Batám (باتام),‡ north of Ghargáon. The beginning of this road leads for half a *kos* through a jungle so dense that you can scarcely 'think' yourself through it. Afterwards comes a pass extending for five or six *kos* full of stones and mud, two high mountains being on either side. There some of the rebellious people of the southern mountains under the Bargosám [principal noble] had established themselves, whilst the Phúkans with a great number of men had encamped on an 'island' between the Brahmáputra and the Dihing River.

About this time it rained for three days and nights, and living in tents was impossible. The intention of the Nawáb was to spend the rainy season in Lak'húgar; but the Mutagaddis reported that there would be no time to transport the conquered material, and secondly, the wild elephants could not well be brought to move properly. In any case, it was clear that it would be impossible to reach Lak'húgar before the commencement of the rains.

It was, therefore, resolved to move to Mat'hurápúr, which lies  $3\frac{1}{2}$  *kos* beyond Ghargáon at the foot of a mountain, towards the south-east. A party was left behind in Ghargáon. The author also stayed behind for reasons which are not explained. A great number of guns were sent on to Jahángírnagar. The Nawáb had also rupees and piece struck with the name of his Majesty on them. Mír Murtazá in Ghargáon was to take charge of all such stores as were to be kept and sent on to Jahángírnagar; Miyánah Khán was sent to Mauza' Salháti.§ which lies at the foot of the hills, south of Ghargáon, and was held by the Bargosám and other accursed people; Ghází Khán was sent as thánahdár to Mauza' Deopání,|| between Ghargáon and Salháti; and Jalál Khán of Daryábád was to guard the Dihing River.

\* Nám-rúp is the most eastern part of Asám and scarcely known. Vansittart in his translation confounds it with Kám-rúp (Western Asám), which he substitutes for it. His *Dhonce* is the 'Dihing.' His *Nance* are the Nágás.

† This seems to refer to the Ladhíágarh road, which now forms the boundary between the British and Independent Territories.

‡ The name is doubtful. The MSS. have every possible diacritical mark for the word, Niyám, Nipám, Batám, Banám, Biyám, Panám, Patám, &c.

§ For *Salháti* the 'Klamgírúmah has, perhaps correctly, *Salpání*.

|| So the 'Klamgírúmah (p. 735). The Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah has *Deotání*. But Deopání is evidently the correct name. It still exists, and lies due south of Sibságar, at the foot of the hills, and S. S. W. of Ghargáon. It is now a tea garden in possession

On the 20th Sha'bán, the Nawáb moved to Mat'hurápúr, and Ádam Khán marched eight *kos* farther towards Parganah Abhápúr.\* He had repeatedly to fight with the Asamese. The enemies also made night-attacks on Jalál Khán from the other side of the Dihing. But they were every time repelled, and Jalál Khán and his Daryábádí men became objects of terror for the Asamese. Miyánah Khán's position at Salháti protected the inhabitants of that district. On the whole, the Dak'hinkol was in the hands of the Imperialists, and the inhabitants were satisfied with their condition. The people of Uttarkol also thought of submitting, but fate decreed otherwise.

### VIII.

#### *The rains set in.*

At the beginning of the rains, the Asamese made a night attack upon 'Alí Rizá, the Thánahdár at Dewalgáon, who was enforced by a detachment, which the Nawáb sent him under Yádgár Khán Uzbek.

A flotilla with provisions sent by Ibn i Husain under the command of Muhammad Murád from Lak'húgar, arrived safely at Ghargáon [up the Dík'ho].

On the 1st Shawwál, an attack was made upon Anwar Beg, Thánahdár of Gajpúr. He and his men were killed. Gajpúr thus fell into the hands of the Asamese, who now made trenches on the other side of the Dihing as far as Lak'húgar, in order to cut off the supplies of the army. Sarandáz Khán Uzbek was at once sent off by the Nawáb to recover Gajpúr. He reached Mauzá' Tik,† beyond which he could not pass without ships on account of the mud in the nálahs. The Nawáb ordered Muhammad Murád to go with several ships to his assistance. But the two commanders could not agree, and on the 14th Shawwál, Sarandáz Khán went back to Tik, and Muhammad Murád pushed forward. He was suddenly attacked at night by the Asamese; his men were in the greatest confusion, and his whole fleet was captured and the sailors were killed. Only a few Afgháns escaped to bring the tale of the disaster to Dewalgáon. The Dihing River in the meantime rose, and the Asamese attacked the Daryábádís at Salláti, whilst the water that rushed

of the 'Assam Company.' Mr. Foster tells me that according to a native tradition, five Asamese once went up to the hills to make a *pújá* and curse a deity, when a little stream suddenly rose and engulfed them. The little stream was called Deopáni.

\* On the maps Obeyppore, S. E. of Ghargáon. The name is very frequent in the whole district south of Síbságar.

When Aurangzib received the Nawáb's official reports, he made him a commander of 7000, 7000 horse, 5000 *duaspah síhaspah* troopers, and added to his *jágir* certain mahalls the revenue of which was 1 *kror dáms*, or 2½ *lacs* rupees. '*Álamgírnamah*, p. 741.

† Evidently the Tiok River, 3 miles above Gajpúr. The '*Álamgírnamah* (Bibl. Indica Edition, p. 779) has *تیك* for *تيك*.

down the mountain caused the men great inconvenience. Nay, the enemies were even bold enough to shew themselves near Ghargáon, and it required every care on the part of Mir Murtazá to prevent mischief.

Ghází Khán, the Thánahdár of Deopáni, who had 20 horse and 50 foot, was attacked by 10 or 12,000 Asamese, under the son of the Bargosán's brother. Their leader was at the time of the attack far in advance of his men, and encountered Ibráhím Khán, one of Ghází Khán's men, gave his horse a swordcut over the head, and brought Ibráhím down. But jumping up quickly, Ibráhím ran against the leader, threw him on the ground, and finished him with his dagger. The Asamese saw their leader fall, and without coming to his assistance, retreated and watched for a better opportunity.

At this time, the population of Ghargáon, Mat'hurápúr, and Ádam Khán's thánahs commenced to leave their houses at night.

A rumour was also current that Blúm Naráin of Koch Bihár had returned and driven away the Imperialists. The rumour proved in the end to be true. The officer in charge of Koch Bihár, after the Nawáb had left, commenced the *jam'bandi* (financial settlement) of the country; but the people did not understand the new way of assessing them, and dispersed in rebellion; and when the Rájah returned to the foot of the hills, they gathered round him, and attacked and killed Muhammad Qálih, the Officer who, at Kanthalbári, tried to intercept the Rájah. They then cut off the supplies of Isfandiár Khán. The Rájah wrote to him that he should not unnecessarily court danger, and would do better to retreat; and Isfandiár profiting by his advice, retreated to G'horág'hát. 'Askar Khán soon followed him.

The Nawáb strengthened Ghází Khán's thánah by a detachment under Abul Hasan, Mirzá Beg's *khálú* (maternal uncle); for the Asamese had thrown up trenches opposite the thánah, and were continually on the alert.

Another detachment under Sayyid Sálár was sent to Ghargáon.

## IX.

*Farhád Khán marches towards Lak'húgar, and returns safely.*

The Nawáb, on hearing the result of Muhammad Murád's expedition, despatched Farhád Khán and Qaráwal Khán with a strong detachment towards Lak'húgar, to keep the roads clear for the supplies. They were also to assist Sarandáz Khán in getting to Gajpúr, and send reinforcements to the thánahs under Mir Núrullah and Muhammad Muqím.

On the 18th Shawwál, [27th May, 1662] Farhád Khán, in spite of a dreadful storm, reached Ghargáon, crossed the same night the Dik'ho, took up Abul Hasan, who was on his way from Deopáni to head quarters, and reached with great trouble Mauza' Tik, which lies between Taramháni and Gajpúr. Sarandáz Khán joined the corps. The Asamese made their ap-

pearance in their trenches, and their ships under a renowned Phūkan commenced to fire.

Fighting continued for several days. The Rājputs of Rājah Subhān Singh distinguished themselves. Forty-one ships captured. Farhād arrived at the thánah of Muhammad Muqim, from whom he heard that the inhabitants of the district had been away for some days, but had just come back with many wounded. Farhād Khān therefore sent Muhammad Múnin Beg into the villages, as it was clear that they had been fighting against him. All males were killed and the women were carried off.

On the 2nd Zi Qa'dah, [9th June, 1662] Farhād Khān returns to the Nawáb. The captured women were let off.

### X.

*The roads entirely closed. The Thánahs are drawn in.*

With the progress of the rains the thánahs had to be drawn in. At the Nawáb's order, Ādam Khān was to leave Abhipúr and join head quarters. The other thánahs were to join the corps at Ghargāon, whilst Sarandáz Khān and Miyānah Khān were to guard the other banks of the Dík'ho. Jalāl Khān, Ghāzī Khān, and Muhammad Muqim, should occupy this side of Dík'ho, and be under Mir Murtazá's orders.

This is done with difficulty. Sarandáz Khān and Miyānah Khān occupy a piece of land surrounded on three sides by the Dík'ho Nálah,\* and shut up the fourth side by a strong wall. The whole country is now re-occupied by the Asamese, only Mat'hurápúr and Ghargāon being in the hands of the Imperialists. If a man dared to leave the camp, he was certain to be shot by the Asamese. A similar case never happened before in the history of Diblí. Here were 12,000 horse and numerous infantry locked in for six months, prevented by the rains from continuing operations, and yet scarcely attacked by the enemies that surrounded them. Nor did during this time provisions arrive. "The Amírs turned their eyes longingly to Dihlí, and the soldiers yearned for their wives and children."

The Asamese were under orders of the Phūkan Bījḍilí, an Asamese Bráhmaṇ, whose father had risen from a storekeeper to be a noble. The Rājah himself had come from Nám'rúp and taken up his abode in Solágóri (سولگوري),† which in former times had been the capital of the Asamese Rājahs. It lies four stages from Mat'hurápúr and Ghargāon. The Rājah had called up the whole population and placed them at Bījḍilí's disposal. This commander's head quarters were at the Dillí (دلی) River, which issues from

\* Evidently the modern Názirah. Mr. Foster tells me that traces of the wall which closed the fourth side still exist.

† Solágóri lies north of Ghargāon on the Dísang. It is often called Húlágóri, according to the interchange of s and h, above alluded to.



the hills, passes Mat'hurápúr, and flows into the Dihing. It is a dangerous river in the rains, though at other times it is scarcely knee-deep. He had thrown up trenches, and had built a strong wall three *kos* long, one end of the wall extending to a mountain, and the other to the place where the Dillí joins the Dihing. He had also cut every where the banks of the river, and made them so steep, that no man, much less a horse, could get up. He had several times at night attacked Dilír Khán, but was repulsed.

Rájah Subhán Singh drives away the Cháráng Rájah who threatened Ghargáon. The Chárángs (چارنگ) are an Asamese tribe living in the southern mountains, and their zamíndár holds from the Rájah of Āsám the title of Rájah.

The author says that it is impossible to relate the minor affairs which almost daily occurred.

Once Phúkan Bíjdilí sent an ambassador to the Nawáb, and asked for cessation of the hostilities. Khwájah Bhor Mall took the Nawáb's answer, which was that he agreed to stop hostilities on receiving five hundred elephants that had still their first teeth; thirty laes of tolahs of gold and silver as *peshkash*; a daughter of the Rájah for the harem of his Majesty; a yearly tribute of fifty elephants with their first teeth; and lastly, a promise to cede that portion of Āsám over which the Imperialists had passed. The Rájah was to keep Námrúp and the whole of the mountainous districts to himself.

Bhor Mall went, and was received with great honor by the Phúkan, with whom he remained for half a night alone. The Phúkan approved of the articles, and said that should the Rájah not accept them, he would himself come and join the Nawáb.

Bhor Mall returned after two days. But in the meantime the epidemic had broken out, and the Nawáb moved to Ghargáon; and as the Asamese looked upon this movement as a sign of weakness, Bíjdilí did not come, as he had promised.

## XI.

### *Condition of the army at Ghargáon.*

The Asamese in their continual attacks upon Ghargáon had succeeded in burning down several houses of the Rájah and the Phúkans outside the enclosure. On the 7th Zí Qa'dah [14th June, 1662], Farhád Khán, Sayyid Sálár, and Qaráwal Khán had arrived, and Mír Murtazá prepared to protect the town more efficiently. The north-western part of the town being principally subject to attacks, a bamboo fort was erected, of which one end reached as far as the Dik'ho and the other to the northern corner of the palisade of the palace. Many of the inhabitants also, who suffered in the attacks, were transferred by Mír Murtazá inside the enclosure, notably so the inhabitants of Mauza'Cháchní (چاچنى) who were transferred from beyond

the ditch to the north side of the enclosure of the Rájah's palace. In one night attack, the Asamese entered the bamboo fort, and occupied half of Ghargáon. The confusion was extreme, as Mír Murtazá could not find out where the enemies chiefly were, when an Asamese set fire to the large ehappars of the Rájah's palace, and the dark night became clear as day.

Account of how they were repulsed. Farhád Khán wounded in the hand. Further immediate fortifications. The night attacks continue without interruption. The Dillí Náláh and the Dándká\* Náláh, which flows into the Dihing about one *kos* north-east of Ghargáon, were especially attacked by the Asamese. The Dándká Náláh had a bridge which allowed communications to go on between Ghargáon and Mat'hurápúr. One night the Asamese broke it up; but it was immediately rebuilt and guarded day and night. Several store-houses were burnt by the enemies.

Detailed description of a general night attack on Ghargáon on the 5th Zí Hajjah [12th July, 1662]. Repulsed with great difficulties.

The enemies cross the Dillí, and throw up a trench on the Kákúján Náláh, which flows between the Dillí and the Dándká.

Renewed night attack on the 8th Zil Hajjah [15th July]. Farhád Khán's wounds did not allow him any longer to remain in command, and he repeatedly asked the Nawáb to relieve him. Rashíd Khán arrived on the 11th with reinforcements. Farhád went next day to Mat'hurápúr. Daily attacks. On the 16th [23rd July], Rashíd Khán succeeds in taking the trenches on the Kákúján Náláh, and 170 prisoners are taken whom the author takes the next day to the Nawáb, who sent them back. The chiefs among them were fettered and the others impaled on the Dándká Náláh.

## XII.

### *Affairs in Lak'húgar. Condition of the fleet.*

When Anwar Beg, the Thánahdár of Gajpúr, had been killed, Ibn i Husain despatched a flotilla under 'Alí Beg to take Gajpúr and destroy the fort which the Asamese had erected. 'Alí Beg went, but as he was not immediately successful, he encamped the night outside the fort, his ships anchoring at Bānsbárá, which lies between Dewalgáon and Gajpúr. A few ships were taken from the enemies, among them several of Muhammad Murád's ships. Yádgár Khán moves from Dewalgáon, and joins Ibn i Husain at Lak'húgar, who fortifies his camp. Repeated attacks on Solahgar on the part of the Imperialists. Demonstration of the people in favour of the invaders.

On the 7th Muharram, 1073 [12th August, 1662], Sayyid Naqiruddin Khán died. Several attacks repulsed. The Bargaosín brought in. Yádgár

\* The Bibl. Ind. Edit. of the '*Alamgír-námah* has 'Dándkáláh Náláh.

Khán again occupies Dewalgáon. A report of his success was sent to the Nawáb, who received it in the beginning of Çafar [September, 1662] at Ghargáon.

### XIII.

#### *Epidemie at Ghargáon and Mat'hurápúr. Return of the Nawáb.*

Mat'hurápúr lies high and was properly speaking an excellent place for an encampment. But it was soon found that the air of the surrounding jungles and the water from the mountain itself were unhealthy. The mountain is called 'Jur Parbat,' which in Asamese means 'fever mountain.' The men soon suffered from severe fever, and the casualties became numerous. Thus in the beginning of the war, Dilír Khán's detachment consisted of nearly 1500 horse; but at the end of the rains and his expedition to Námrúp, he only mustered between 4 and 500. Of the people also an unusual number died, and Bhor Mall had heard from Phúkan Bijdili that the present year was exceptionally unfavourable to all. Food, though it was not scarce, was limited to a few things, and some articles were only to be had at fabulous prices. Thus butter sold at 14 Rupees *per ser*; *másh*, 1 R.; opium *per tolah*, 1 gold muhur; 1 *chillum* of tobacco, 3 Rs.; *dálmung*, 10 Rs. *per ser*; salt, 30 Rs. *per ser*. The only thing the army had was *shálí*. Many horses died.

It was altogether an extraordinary year, and famine even raged in Jahángirnagar.

The Nawáb, therefore, found it necessary to leave Mat'hurápúr, and marched on the 12th Muharram, 1073, [17th August, 1662] to Ghargáon. One fourth of the stores of *shálí*, for want of conveyance, had to be left behind. Many wounded and sick people were also left in Mat'hurápúr, and it has never become known what their fate was, when the Asamese occupied the place. Several guns also stuck in the mud,\* the cows that pulled them having no strength from want of food. At night, the Nawáb stayed at a house belonging to the Rájah, one *kos* from Ghargáon, and Dilír Khán who commanded the rear, was ordered to look after the guns, as the Nawáb had resolved to wait where he was till all the guns had been brought up. The rain was fearful. Dilír Khán told the Nawáb that he would look after everything, and on the 13th Muharram, the Nawáb entered Ghargáon. Immediate attacks of the Asamese followed. In Ghargáon also coarse red

\* Mr. Foster writes from Názirah—There are numerous largo iron guns in the neighbourhood. One even miles from here is 18' 6" long, 6½" bore, and has 4 trunnions. There are three 14' guns within a quarter mile of my bungalow. They will be lost in the River Dík'ho next wet season, being only some 15 feet from the bank which is rapidly cutting away. I think they must have been left by the Mughul army, when it retreated in 1663.

rice, without salt, and limes were the only things that could be had, and fever and dysentery soon raged as bad as in Mat'hurápúr. Muhammad Múmin of Tabriz, the Wáq'ahnawis, died.

A bridge which the Imperialists had made over the Dík'ho, was torn away by the current, but was at last built again.

#### XIV.

##### *A change for the better.*

The rains ceased about the middle of Çafar [end of September, 1662]. Makrdhaj, Rájah of Durang, had died in Mat'hurápúr, and his mother who held the reigns of the government during his absence, favoured the Imperialists, and placed men at the disposal of the Faujdár of Gawáhaṭṭi. Communications now became easier. On the 21st Rabí I. [24th October, 1662], the first supplies arrived by land, and on the 28th, the ships with the provisions landed at Ghargáon.

The Asamese gradually withdrew, and the Rájah went to Solágóri, and then back to Námurúp. Bijdilí and Karkumbá, the two principal Phúkans, were intrenched on the Dillí River, and Bijdilí sent again an ambassador expressing his willingness to conclude peace, should the Imperialists withdraw from the country. But his offers were not listened to.

About this time orders came from court in which Ihtishám Khán was appointed Governor of Ásám and Rashíd Khán Faujdár of Káurúp. The latter refused on account of the unhealthiness of the climate, and Ihtishám Khán also begged to be excused.

On the 8th Rabí II. [10th November, 1662], Abul Hasan was ordered to take back the provision ships to Taramhání, and then to take the entrenchments of Bijdilí in the rear. Qaráwal Khán was to accompany him.

#### XV.

##### *The Nawáb takes the offensive. Pursuit of the Rájah.*

Abul Hasan succeeds in destroying some entrenchments held by the Asamese, and set out for Bijdilí's trenches, whilst the Nawáb, too, marches towards the Dihing to support him. But Bijdilí withdrew. The Nawáb reaches the Dihing. Has a fainting fit. Badlí Phúkan pays his respects with his three brothers. The defection of the Phúkans alarmed the Rájah, and as he had been dissatisfied with Bijdilí's operations, he killed him and his whole family, males and females. Numerous letters also arrived from the Rájah and the Phúkans, but the Nawáb paid no attention to them.

Badlí Phúkan submits a plan how to hunt down the Rájah, and with the Nawáb's permission collects between three and four thousand fighting men, and is appointed Qúbahdár of the country between Ghargáon and Námurúp.



Numerous requests to conclude peace arrive from the Rájah, but the Nawáb pays no attention to them. An unwelcome news also reaches the camp, that in consequence of the famine in Bengal no rice had been sent, and Ibn i Husain had put his sailors on short rations. The Nawáb sent off 12000 maunds of *shālī* to Lak'húgar.

At Badli Phúkán's advice, the Nawáb, on the 1st Jumáda I. [1st December, 1662], sent a detachment under Darwísh Beg to Solágóri, where several Phúkans and a number of elephants were reported to be. Badli Phúkán accompanies Darwísh, and they reach Solágóri on the 6th. The Nawáb himself crosses the Dihing on the 7th [7th December]. On the 9th, he has an attack of fever and severe pain in the chest. Hakím Karímá of Gílán attends him. But though sick, he determined to follow the Rájah to Námrúp. But many of his officers and the men showed signs of dissatisfaction, and it was reported to the Nawáb that large numbers would march away, if he did not return, as the men would not pass another rainy season in Ásám, much less in Námrúp. The Nawáb got so annoyed, that his illness became worse; but on the 14th [14th December], he broke up, and marched one stage further on to Batám.\* On account of his sickness he travelled by pálki. Batám belongs to Ásám, and the zamíndár holds the title of Rájah. It lies on the outskirt of the Námrúp jungles.

The Rájah in the meantime renews his applications for peace, and asks Dilir Khán to intercede on his behalf with the Nawáb.

## XVI.

### *Conclusion of Peace. Return of the Army to Bengal.*

Illness forced the Nawáb to listen to the proposals of peace. Bhor Mall was again employed to confer with the Phúkans, and the following conditions were agreed upon—

1. The Rájahs of Ásám and Batám should each send one of their daughters to the imperial harem.
2. Each should pay 20,000 *tolahs* of gold, and 120,000 *tolahs* of silver.
3. Fifteen elephants to be sent to the Emperor; fifteen to the Nawáb, and five to Dilir Khán.
4. Within the next twelve months 3 laes *tolahs* of silver and 90 elephants to be sent as tribute to Bengal, in three four-monthly instalments.
5. Twenty elephants to be furnished annually.
6. The sons of Búdh Gosáin, Karkas-há, Bar Gosáin, Prabátar, the four principal Phúkans of the Rájah, to remain as hostages with the Nawáb, till the fulfilment of the conditions in para. 4.

\* Or Patám. I have not identified this place; in fact there are no maps available. *Vide* p. 85, third note.

7. The following districts to be ceded to his Majesty the Emperor—

*A. In the Uttarkol.*

(a.) Sirkár Durang, bounded by Gawáhaṭṭi on one side, and by the Áli Buráí,\* which passes Fort Chamdburah, on the other side.

*B. In the Dak'hinkol.*

(a.) The district of Nakirání (نكى رانى).†

(b.) The Nágá Hills.

(c.) Beltalí (بيل تلى)

(d.) Dúmuriah (دومرية).

8. All inhabitants of Kámurp kept as prisoners by the Rájah in the hills and in Námrúp to be restored; so also the family of Badlí Phúkan.

The districts of the Dak'hinkol that were ceded, have at no previous time formed part of his Majesty's empire. Nakirání [Deshrání] lies near the Gáro Hills. The Gáros are a wild tribe excessively fond of dog's flesh.‡ If a dog sees a Gáro, it will instinctively howl and run away. Their hills are also near Karibáí, which belongs to the empire.

Dúmuriah extends as far as the Kulang River, which flows at the foot of Fort Kajlí. Hence as the Áli Buráí forms the boundary between the empire and Ásám in the Uttarkol, so does the Kulang form the boundary in the Dak'hinkol.

Durang is a country full of wild elephants and k'hedahs for catching them. Once Jaidhaj captured no less than one hundred and twenty elephants. In the territory of the Rájah of Dúmuriah elephants were formerly found. It borders on Kaehhár, from which the elephants used to come into Dúmuriah; but the Kaehhár Rájah having put a stop to the migrations of the elephants, no k'hedahs are now-a-days found in the Dúmuriah.

The above conditions of peace were accepted, and the treaty was mutually signed. After some delay caused by an attempt at cheating in the hostages, the Rájah sent, on the 5th Jumáda II., [4th January, 1663] his daughter, the gold and silver, ten elephants, and the hostages to the Nawáb, and promised to send thirty elephants more to Lak'húgar. The gold and silver was put into the treasury, the hostages were given to Dilir Khán to take charge of, and the

\* Called on the map Bhor-allí, or Bhorelí. It flows near Tezpúr and the Kamakhya Temple, Central Ásám.

† Vide p. 76, last note. It seems to be the same as Deshrání, because Deshrání, Desh Dúmuriah, and Desh Beltalah are mentioned together. They belong to Thánah Gawáhaṭṭi, and lie south of it. Vide also Robinson's Ásám, p. 289.

By "Nágá Hills" the Mikir and Rengmah Nágá hills appear to be meant.

‡ Most of the wild Asamese tribes eat dogs. The custom is to hang up the dog and force large quantities of boiled rice down its throat. When it is swollen up, it is suspended over a fire and slowly roasted. The rice is said to be "delicious."

Rájah's daughter was provided a place in the Nawáb's harem. On the 9th Jumáda II., eleven elephants were brought in.

The order to return to Bengal was given on the 10th Jumáda II., [9th January, 1663], to the intense joy of all. The Nawáb had still to travel in palkí; he did not march over Ghargáon, but went straight to Taramhání, where the prisoners, whom the Rájah had detained in Námurúp, and Badlí Phúkan's family arrived.

## XVII.

*Arrival at La'khúgar. Distress during the retreat. March over Barítalah to Khizrúpúr. Death of the Nawáb.*

On the 26th Jumáda II., [25th January, 1663] the Nawáb left Dewalgáon for Lak'húgar. His health daily improved. Mír Murtazá brought all stores from Ghargáon, and twenty-five elephants arrived which the Rájah had sent. Many people, males and females, followed the army, happy to find thus a means of leaving Ásám.

The Nawáb had resolved to go to Gawáhattí, settle financial matters, and then to march against Koch Bihár. He, therefore, embarked with the hostages at Lak'húgar, sending the principal part of the army *viâ* the Dak'língol to Barítalah where they should cross the Brahmáputra. On the 1st Rajah [29th January], he left Lak'húgar, inspected on his road portions of Dúmuriah, now annexed, and passed in palkí over the Kajlí plain, where never before an army had passed. On the first and the second days, he travelled eight *kos* daily; on the third, fourteen; on the fourth, twelve. He then passed the Kulang river and then Fort Kajlí. *During these four days, the men lived on water and the animals on grass.* At Kajlí, the Nawáb rested a few days. The mother and the son of Makr Dhaj, Rájah of Durang, who had lately died, waited on the Nawáb. The Rájah of Dúmuriah was also expected. But his brother's son only came, and, soon after, the Rájah's mother.

Here the Nawáb had a relapse, which ended in asthuma, and the hasty way in which he proceeded from remedy to remedy, made him only worse.

In the evening of 11th, [7th February, 1663] the same day on which the mother of the Rájah of Dúmuriah had come, tremendous lightning and thunder frightened the army, and immediately afterwards, a strong earthquake was felt which shook all, whether they were sitting or standing, reclining or sleeping. The shocks continued for half an hour.

On the 13th [9th February], the Nawáb left Kajlí, and arrived at Pándú, which lies opposite to Gawáhattí. Muhammad Beg, Faujdár of Gawáhattí reported the capture of eighty-four Durang elephants in the k'hedahs. The Nawáb recommended to him the mother and the son of the late

Rájah of Durang, and the mother of the Rájah of Dúmuriáh, and dismissed them to their homes. Badli Phúkan was to have a Parganah in Bengal, with a revenue of 3000 Rs. On the 14th, Dilir Khán arrived from Lak'húgar, bringing eight more elephants with him.

Rashid Khán, who had formerly declined the office of Faujdár of Kámrúp, received from his Majesty a reprimand. He now accepted the office, and was appointed to it by the Nawáb. Muhammad Beg, the former Faujdár of Gawáhattí, who was a servant of the Nawáb, was appointed Thánahdár of Kajli, under Rashid Khán.

The Nawáb, though very ill, settled several financial matters of great importance, and left Gawáhattí on the 26th Rajab [22nd February, 1663]. On the last of the month, he reached Baritalah, where the Koch Bihár detachment joined him. Here the Nawáb's condition got much worse, the fainting fits came on oftener, and Hakím Zahirá Ardistaní was sent for from Húgli, and Mirzá Muhammad from Akbarnagar.

Description of the diagnosis of each doctor. The men commonly believed that the sickness was the result of witchcraft practised by the Rájah of Asám. The doctors recommended the Nawáb to go to Khizrpúr. On the 26th Sha'bán, he appoints 'Askar Khán to renew operations against Koch Bihár.

The Nawáb died on board the barge on Wednesday, the 2nd Ramazán, 1073 [30th March, 1663], half an hour before sunset, two *kos* above Khizrpúr.\* The *tárikh* of his death is *مستند آرای بهشت*, or 'occupant of paradise,' A. H. 1073. Dilir Khán and Ihtishám Khán buried the body the next day at Khizrpúr, in a vault which the Nawáb had given orders to build after leaving for Asám. According to his last wish, his body was to be taken to Najaf, and buried in holy ground. News of his death was at once sent to court and to his son Muhammad Amín Khán.

\* Neither Rennel's Map of the 'Environs of Dacca' in 1778 (Map xii, of the Bengal Atlas), nor the Survey Maps help us to identify Khizrpúr, and I addressed Dr. James Wise, of Dháká, who is so well known for his researches in the local history of the District, regarding the geographical position of the place. He kindly sent me the following reply—

"Naráinganj, eight miles S. E. of Dacca, is in a parganah called Khizrpúr. It is bounded by the Dacca river, the Barha Ganga. This situation corresponds with that of the historical Khizrpúr, which was on the banks of the Ganges. A tomb, said to be that of one of Sháistah Khán's daughters, is called by the Muhammadans of the present day the 'Khizrpúr Maqbarah.' It is strange that the tomb of such a great man as Mir Jumla should not exist."

The *Maásir ul Umará* does not record whether the body was taken to Najaf (Mashhad, in Khurásán). It is said that many towns in Talingánah contain buildings erected by the Nawáb, and in Haidarábád there is a tank, a villa, and a palace, still bearing his name.



*Events after 1663.*

With the death of the Nawáb the *Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah* ends. The news of his death reached Aurangzib at Láhor, and, according to Bernier, (*vide* above p. 35) was a source of joy for the emperor. The '*Ālamgír-námah*' says that he was sorry, because Mír Jumlah had been an old servant.

Whether the "ceded" districts of Central Āsām were ever taken actual possession of by the Imperialists, is a matter of doubt. The *Āsām Búrānji*, or *Āsām Chronicle*, according to Robinson (*loc. cit.*, p. 166), gives a very different version, and says "that Mír Jumlah's army was entirely defeated, and he was obliged to give up the whole of zillah Kámrúp to the Asamese, which was from that time placed under the management of a great Asamese officer, the Bar Phúkan, and formed a government equal to about a third part of the whole kingdom. Jaidhaj Singl died A. D. 1663."

From the following extract from the '*Ālamgír-námah*' it would certainly appear that Gawáhattí was the actual frontier of the Mughul empire and Āsām, when Mír Jumlah returned to Bengal, and that the cession of Durang as far as Tezpúr was nominal; but on the other side it is quite clear that Mír Jumlah's retreat was not an absolute defeat. The payments of the money are certainly nowhere recorded by Muhammadan historians; but a part of the elephants did come, and a daughter of the king of Āsām was subsequently married to an Imperial Prince.

Gawáhattí then was the actual frontier at Mír Jumlah's retreat, and remained so for four years, till the beginning of 1078 A. H., or the very end of A. D. 1667. The re-conquest by the Asamese is the last event recorded in the '*Ālamgír-námah*' (Bibl. Ind. Edit., p. 1068) as follows—

"At this time [Rajab, 1078, or December, 1667], reports were received by his Majesty from Bengal that the Asamese with a numerous army and a large fleet had attacked Gawáhattí, *which is the frontier of Bengal*. The Thánahdár, Sayyid Fírúz Khán, could not in time receive assistance. He and most of his men bravely defended themselves, and sacrificed their lives on the path of loyalty (*ṣubúdiyat*). His Majesty resolved to punish the Asamese, and appointed Rájah Rám Singh to the command of an imperial corps, which was to be strengthened by troops of the Bengal army. Rájah Rám Singh, on the 21st Rajab 1078, A. H., [27th December, 1667] received as *kha'at* a horse with a gilded saddle and a dagger with a belt adorned with pearls, and was sent to Āsám. Naḡirí Khán,\* Kisarí Singh Bhúrtiah,† Rag'hunáth Singh of Mirthah, Bairam Deo Sisaudiah, and other Maṇṇabdárs, with 1500 Ahadis and 500 artillery, accompanied him."

\* The *Maásir i 'Ālamgírí* (Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 65) has *Nuṣrat Khán*.

† The *Maásir i 'Ālamgírí* has *Kírat Singh Bhúrtiah*, which is clearly the correct reading.

For the subsequent events we have only the *Maāsir i 'Ālamgīri* to refer to, whose scanty notes are nevertheless of great value. I translate from the edition of this work in the Bibliotheca Indica.

*Page 73.* "On the first of Zī Hajjah, 1078 [2nd May, 1668], Rahmat Bānū, the daughter of the king of Āsām was married to Prince Muhammad Ā'zam. Dowry, 180,000 Rupees."

It is not said whether this is the same girl that was taken by Mīr Jumlah to Bengal. Her name implies that she had been converted to Islām. It was only Akbar and Jahāngīr that did not convert their Hindū princesses.

*Page 97.* "Rājah Rām Singh, who was a commander of 4000, 4000 *duaspah sihaspah* troopers, was promoted to a command of 5000, and his son\*

\* This Kisnu Singh is called grandson (*nabīrah*) of Rām Singh on p. 172 of the *Madsir*. It should be son. Rām Singh was the son of Jai Singh I, of Ambar (Jaipūr), with whose assistance Aurangzīb had come to the throne. He died at Burhānpūr on the 28th Muharram 1076, or 10th July, 1667. The '*Ālamgīr-nāmah*' (p. 1051) and the *Maāsir i 'Ālamgīri* (p. 62) state that he died a natural death, and that his son Rām Singh was immediately made Rājah. Colonel Brooke (*Political History of Jeypore*, p. 14) says, though he does not mention his authority, that Jai Singh was killed by his son Kīrat Singh, whom Aurangzīb had promised the succession, and that the Emperor had engaged his services, because he thought Jai Singh too powerful a subject. "The feeling of the country, however, was too strong against the parricide, to allow such a succession to be carried out, and Kīrat Singh was obliged to content himself with Kāmah, now in the Bhurtpore territory, and which his descendants enjoy to this day; but the parricidal act of their ancestor has for ever excluded them from any chance of succeeding to the Jeypore throne." Kīrat Singh certainly was at Burhānpūr, when Jai Singh died. He had in nearly every war served under his father, as, for instance, in the Mew disturbances, after which he received Kāmah Pahārī, and Koh-Mujāhid, and was appointed Fanjdār of Mewāt. Shāhjahān, two years before being disposed, had made him a commander of 1000, and after the wars with Sīwā, Aurangzīb gave him a command of 2500. After the death of his father, he was made a commander of 3000, a promotion which does not look like a reward for the great crime imputed to him. Kīrat continued to serve in the Dak'hin, and died in the beginning of 1084 (1673, A. D.).

Jai Singh was succeeded by his first-born son, Rām Singh. He had risen under Shāhjahān to the rank of commander of 3000. In the battle of Samogar, he was with Dārā Shikoh, but joined soon afterwards, like his father, the party of Aurangzīb. He served under Muhammad Sultān, in the pursuit of Shujā', and took a part in the capture of Sulaimān Shikoh at Sriuagar. Subsequently, he served under his father against Sīwā; and when the Bhonsla and his son Sāmbā presented themselves at Court, Aurangzīb warned Rām Singh to have a sharp eye on them, and not to let them escape. But they fled (beginning of 1077), and Rām Singh fell into temporary disgrace, and lost his rank. The fact that Jai Singh died soon afterwards may be construed into a suspicion against Kīrat Singh. But Rām Singh was immediately restored, received the title of Rājah, and a manṣab of 4000. In the same year (1078), he was ordered to Gawāhatī in Āsām. Rām Singh remained in Āsām till the middle of 1086 (1675), his long stay being evidently a punishment. He died soon after. His son

Kishn Singh received a present of a *sarpesh* studded with jewels." End of 1080 A. H., or beginning of A. D. 1670.

Page 154. "On the 22nd Rabi' II., 1087, [24th June, 1676] Rájah Rám Singh returned from Ásám, and paid his respects at court."

Page 173. "On the 29th Muharram, 1090, [1st Mareh, 1679] Shahrukh, a servant of Prince Muhamud A'zam brought a report to court which contained the account of the conquest of Gawáhaṭṭi by his Majesty's troops. The messenger received a reward of Rs. 1000; and a necklace of 91 pearls, valued at 2 laes of Rupees, and a tassel (*turrah*) studded with jewels, of a value of 25,000 Rupees, were sent to the Prince as presents."

Page 231. Rashid Khán reported that, according to orders, the Amíru-l-Umará had been charged with 52 laes of Rupees on account of expenses incurred in Gawáhaṭṭi. The officer referred to had written to say that the whole expenditure amounted to 7 laes of Rupees \* \* \* Hence this sum was ordered to be charged."

Page 387. Prince Muhammad 'Azím ['Azím ushshán, son of Bahádúr Sháh] was appointed Qúbalhdár of Bengal and Faujdár of Koch Bihár." End of 1108, A. H., or middle of 1697, A. D.

This closes my collection of notes on Koch Bihár and Ásám from Muhammadan historians of the 16th and 17th centuries. I have only occasionally referred to *Kháfi Khán* (Ed. Bibl. Indica, II, pp. 130 ff.). He has used the 'Alangirnámah, in his slovenly way, without the slightest exactness even in his meagre geographical and chronological details. To give an example. He makes the Koch Bihár Rájah flee to an old zamíndár of the country, near whose castle there is a river, over which two chains pass. The chains are fastened to pegs and stems of trees on the opposite banks, and people use the chains as a bridge. Comparing this with the account on p. 68, we see that Kháfi has a wonderful power of combination, whilst the castle is altogether fictitious. He gives Koch Bihár five ehaklahs or eighty-nine parganahs, and fixes the revenue at 10 laes of Naráini rupees. The *kaserú* root (*Cyperus tuberosus*, Wild) is mentioned as the best remedy for wounds caused by poisoned arrows. He speaks of the breaking of idols in Koch Bihár, and makes the Nawáb build mosques in Simlahgar and Ghargáon, and remit one year's taxes. The circulation of Naráini rupees in Ásám was forbidden, because the Nawáb coined money with Aurangzib's name on it. A great deal of silver and gold is found with the assistance of expert treasure-finders, and ten or twelve golden keys and a map of Ásám are sent to court. He traces the epidemic to bad water; "for the rain

Kunwar Kishn Singh died when young, of a wound he had received. He had served for some time in Kábul. Vide my essay, entitled 'A Chapter from Muhammadan History,' Calcutta Review, 1870.

falls on many poisonous trees, and when such water runs into rivers or tanks, it renders them poisonous. Again, the wind blows the flowers of poisonous trees into the rivers, and thus makes the water unwholesome. Thus between Khandesh and Súrat, four stages from the latter, there is a river called Sápín, the water of which at the end of the rains is quite poisonous.”\*

Robinson (Ásám, p. 156) has some notes on Baldeo, or Balit Naráin, as he calls him, and places his death in A. D. 1634. This is certainly too early as his defeat by the Mughuls (*vide* above p. 62) took place in 1637. He does not mention Baldeo's son, Chandr Naráin, but a grandson of the same name, who in 1671 was succeeded by Surja Naráin. He then says that about 1682 the territory of Surja Naráin [Durang and Kámráp] “were invaded by Munjur Khán, a general of the emperor of Dihlí, when he himself was taken prisoner, and conveyed to the presence of the emperor. Some time after, effecting his escape, he returned to his own dominions; but from a sense of shame, is said to have refused resuming the reins of government.” His brother Indra Naráin lost portions of his kingdom to the Ahom kings, and only retained Durang.

I do not know who this “Munjur Khán” can be. The spelling suggests Manzúr Khán (منظورخان), a doubtful name, or Mançúr Kkán (منصورخان). The year 1682 refers to A. H. 1094; but I can find nothing regarding this invasion in Muhammadan historians.

## APPENDIX.

Col. J. C. Haughton, C. S. I., Koch Bihár, kindly sent me the following extract from Biswessar's History of Ásám, which may advantageously be compared with the extracts from the Akbarnámah, on pp. 52, 53, 56.

“Rájah Nara Naráin,† having no male issue, determined to appoint his nephew Rag'húdeb successor. When old, however, he had a son, and Rag'húdeb became hopeless. The latter therefore, quitted one day the palace under the pretext of going a hunting; but the Rajah, in order to console him, allotted to him a portion of the *ráj*.‡

“Nara Naráin died after a reign of fifty-six years, and was succeeded by his son Lachmí Naráin.

\* The text of Kháfí Khán's history in the Bibl. Indica Edition is very untrustworthy as regards proper nouns. On p. 138, of vol. II., read *Qází Samúí*, for *Qází Tímúr*; p. 142, *Qawáhaffí* for *Korthí*; p. 144, *Sínlahgarh* for *Bhámgar*; p. 161, *Gajpúr* for *Kachhpúr*; p. 163, *Subhán Singh* for *Saján Singh*.

† The ‘Bálgosáin’ of the Akbarnámah. Rag'húdeb is the ‘Pát Kunwar.’

‡ This seems to have caused the division of Koch Bihár and Koch Ilájo. Lachmí was thus the first Rájah of Koch Bihár only.



“Rag’húdeb having obtained a portion of his uncle’s kingdom, founded the town of Ghelabijaya in Kánirúp, and erected a temple at Hájó in 1583. He died in 1593, and was succeeded by Parichhat Naráin, who made war on his uncle Lachmi Naráin. Parichhat went to Delhí, and died at Patna on his way home from Āgrah in 1606.\* *Subsequently*, the Muhammadan ruler invaded the kingdom to realize the promised tribute. The Mantri succeeded in obtaining the office of *Qánúngo*.

“At this time the kingdom was divided into four sirkárs. Balit Naráin, brother of Parichhat, got the Sirkár, east of Dikrai and west of the river Manah. Parichhat’s son, Bijat Naráin, only got the land between the Manah and Sankos. The descendants of Bijat Naráin are known as the Rájahs of Bijni.”

The following extract from the family history of the Rájahs of Bijni, I also owe to Col. Haughton’s kindness.

“Mahárajah Biswa Singh had two sons. The elder, Nara Naráin Bhúp reigned over that portion of the kingdom which lies between Karatuja and Bihār. The younger, Shukladhaj Bhúp ruled over the country from Bihār to Dikrai. For his impetuosity at time of war, he was called Chilah Rái, ‘King Kite.’ His son was Rag’húdeb Naráin. The latter had three sons; one was king of Durang, another ruler over Beltalah, and the eldest, Parichhat Naráin was Rájah of Bijni. Parichhat waged war with Lachmi Naráin; but sorry for having attacked his nearest relation, he turned hermit. He went also to Dihli with his Diwán, astonished the emperor by his extraordinary talents, received a *kha’at*, and was sent back to his country with a royal guard. But he died at Rájmahall on his way home. The Diwán went back to Dihli, and was made Qánúngo of Koch Bihār. Parichhat left a son Chandr Naráin, who enjoyed his father’s *ráj*, but did nothing remarkable.” [*Vide* pp. 58 to 60, and Robinson, p. 155.]

\* This date is too early.